LIVY

BOOK IV

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LIVY

BOOK IV.

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PREFACE.

THIS edition is intended, I suppose, mainly for use in Schools. As an ex-schoolmaster of some few years experience I should like to express the opinion, (1) that the notes in a school edition should be as brief as is consistent with the omission of no real difficulty; (2) that the main object of the notes should be to elucidate the meaning of the author. Discursive erudition should be reserved for an Appendix, and even there should be as concisely given as possible. Above all the notes should not be loaded to the muzzle with references to foreign authorities out of the reach of all schoolboys and most schoolmasters. (3) That the elucidation of the author's meaning is often best and most concisely effected by short translations. If boys make a bad use of these, it is their form-masters' fault.

The text adopted is that of Luterbacher (in the Teubner series with German notes), with some few alterations mentioned in the notes on the text. In writing the notes I have made free use of his and of Weissenborn's in the old edition. To avoid loading the book with unnecessary

matter I have frequently referred to Prof. Ramsay's excellent *Manual of Roman Antiquities*, the size and price of which place it well within the reach of boys in the middle and upper forms of a classical school. Mommsen's *Römisches Staatsrecht*, referred to in the Introduction, forms the first three volumes of Marquardt and Mommsen's *Handbook of Roman Antiquities*. I have referred to this work once or twice in the notes by the abbreviation M. and M. The references to Mommsen's *Roman History* are to the English translation.

INTRODUCTION.

THE chief interest of the traditional history contained in this book, extending from B.C. 445 to B.C. 404, lies in the progress of the struggle between the patricians and plebeians. This is expressed in the social and administrative changes here recorded. These are (1) the admission of plebeians to *conubium* with patricians, (2) the alternative substitution of military tribunes with consular power for consuls, (3) the establishment of the censorship, (4) the admission of plebeians to the quaestorship. An economical change of some importance also belongs to this period, (5) the payment of citizens for serving in the army.

I. To understand the importance of the change effected by the *lex Canuleia* (cc. 1—6 § 4), we must remember that where *conubium* did not exist between two sets of people, full and regular marriage could not be effected between two members of such sets. This, in effect, meant that the children of such a marriage succeeded to the position of the inferior parent only. The marriage was not quite in the modern sense illegal. The children were not what we should call illegitimate, provided the parents were free persons. The father held the same position towards them as he would have done if the marriage were an equal one. But the rule that children followed the rank of the father applied only where the father was plebeian. If a patrician married a plebeian woman, he forfeited all patrician rights for the children of such a union.

The language put into the mouth of the consuls by Livy may represent the feelings of the patricians and the arguments they

used. No doubt many of them would prefer to base their objections on legal and religious grounds rather than on outspoken class prejudice. Patrician *gentes*, it might be argued, were assumed by, lay at the base of the civil law and religion of Rome, they were necessary to the maintenance of both. There were legal rights innate in pure-born members of the *gentes*, which could not be interfered with without serious disturbance of the civil law. There were sacred duties and sacred privileges attached to and dependent on the *gentes*, interference with which might seriously affect the religious position of the State. Who would answer for the attitude of the gods towards the State if the *sacra* of the patrician *gentes* were performed by men of mixed origin, or the *auspicia* became the inheritance of men not of pure patrician blood? These arguments might very probably be used by men who did not care to say that they regarded the plebeians as an inferior creation, though some seem to have adopted this more straightforward[1] tone. But in spite of class prejudice and religious scruples, the bill was forced through by the plebeians, aided possibly by some more far-seeing among the patricians, who apprehended danger to their order from perpetual in-marrying.

II. As regards the consular tribunate all that can be affirmed for certain is (1) that such officers were frequently substituted as supreme magistrates for consuls, during the 78 years ending B.C. 367, and (2) that their number varied, three, four and six being elected at different times, the number elected increasing apparently as the office grew older: beyond this nothing seems certain. It is not even certain that this office was introduced in B.C. 445 into the State, as the result of a struggle between the orders. There was another tradition as to the cause of the election of these officers, which is given by Livy (c. 7 § 2), that two consuls being insufficient to perform the military duties of that year, owing to the number of wars with which Rome was threatened, three military tribunes with consular powers were elected instead. The explanation of the discordant traditions may be, as

[1] c. 2 § 6.

Dr Mommsen suggests, that such officers had been possible before, that the constitution allowed of the consuls being superseded in military emergencies by a larger number of supreme magistrates, as they had been in a legislative emergency by the decemvirate, or, as in the converse case, they could be superseded, when circumstances required it, by one supreme magistrate, the dictator. It may be that the patricians availed themselves of this possibility to ward off the plebeian attack on the consulship, allowing consular tribunes to be elected, perhaps for the first time, and allowing them to be elected from either order. This is in fact all that Livy's words (c. 6 § 8) absolutely warrant. He does not say that the consular tribunate was instituted at this time, but that the patricians allowed consular tribunes to be elected from either order, while no change was made in the election to the consulship itself. After this it was of course to the interest of the plebeians to get consular tribunes elected as often as possible, which would account for the frequency during this period of an office which had before perhaps never been resorted to.

Equally uncertain is the cause of the change in the number of these officers elected in different years. According to one view the addition of a fourth tribune was due to the Aemilian law, limiting the duration of the censorship to eighteen months. A magistrate, it is said, would be required to perform the censorial duties between the expiration of one censorship and the beginning of another. But even assuming the account of the Aemilian law on which this supposition is based to be historically true (on which see below), this does not seem a probable reason for the increase in the number of the tribunes. If in consular years two consuls could perform the inter-lustral censorial duties, surely three tribunes could do so. And if the fourth tribune were required to perform the duties of the purely patrician office of the censorship, then he would be required not as tribune simply, but as patrician tribune, an obvious restriction of which the tradition would surely have contained some mention. It seems more probable, as Dr Mommsen assumes, that the normal number of the consular tribunes was six, the number of tribunes in a legion,

to which office the consular tribunate was evidently nearly related, and that the reason why only three were elected for some years was that, owing probably to patrician influence, only that number obtained the requisite number of votes, and that those elected had not the power of co-optation.

The question naturally suggests itself in regard to this event, 'Did the patricians consciously give up the substance of what they were contending for, and retain only the outside of it, certain ornamental distinctions attached to the consulship, as such, that is, principally, the right to celebrate a triumph, and to hang the masks of their families in their halls?' In one sense no doubt they did this. They did it in so far as this, that the consular tribunes must, as it seems, have possessed all the powers that the consuls possessed[1]. So far they consciously gave up their monopoly of power in the State. But on the other hand, inasmuch as they kept the consulship intact, and the consular tribunate was open to both orders indiscriminately (not a fixed number of places each year reserved for plebeians only), they might easily seem to have made a nominal concession only and reserved the substance of their monopoly. Even if some of them may have had a dim consciousness that this was the first step in a surrender of their privileged power (and it would only be a few; it requires more than a politician, even a philosophising one, more than a student, it requires a practical statesman to recognise on the spot the difference between a temporary agitation and the onward set of a popular force), still they would hold it a duty to make a stand on the very substantial portion of that power which they could easily persuade themselves still remained. Dr Mommsen says that 'if the Roman nobility had been worthy of its name, it would now have given up the struggle'. If it had, it would have been unlike any other nobility probably that has ever been. A nobility always persuades itself that the retention of its privileges concerns not only its own advantage but the true welfare of its

[1] The supposition that full *imperium* belonged to the patrician, and only military *imperium* to the plebeian consular tribunes is dealt with by Dr Mommsen, *R. H.* I. 297 note.

country, and the Roman patriciate as a whole would have felt that in surrendering at once all its privileges, it would be acting the reverse of nobly.

III. The subject of the censorship is so well treated in Professor Ramsay's *Manual*, to which I have frequently referred in the Notes, that comparatively little need be said about it here. One or two questions however are raised by Livy's account of the institution which call for brief notice.

(1) The date of the first censors given by Livy is very dubious. The circumstances of the election, as he gives them, suggest considerable suspicion of the historical accuracy of his account. According to that account, the first censors were elected in 443, the year after the first election of consular tribunes[1]. The censors then elected were consuls who had been elected to fill the place of the consular tribunes, the latter having been obliged to resign their office in consequence of a flaw in their election. But in spite of this assertion, which is confirmed by Dionysius, the existence of these consuls, on which this early date of the first consuls depends, is very dubious. Livy and Dionysius both admit that their names did not appear in the books of the magistrates, or in the Fasti. The only authorities for them were the 'linen books' (which are probably what Dionysius alludes to as *ἱεραὶ καὶ ἀπόθετοι βίβλοι*) and the text of the Ardeatine treaty, mentioned c. 7 § 10, as quoted by Licinius Macer. Now Macer is not a good authority for any statement which he had an interest in making[2], and his references to the 'linen books' do not tend to enhance the historical value of those records, if indeed they ever existed outside of his consciousness. And Dr Mommsen has shewn (*Römische Chronologie*², p. 82 n. 112) that the abdication of magistrates in consequence of *vitium*

[1] Dionysius assigns them to the same year.

[2] Cic. *de leg.* I. 2. 7 speaking of Roman historians says *nam quid Macrum numerem? cuius loquacitas habet aliquid argutiarum, nec id tamen ex illa erudita Graecorum copia, sed ex librariolis Latinis, in orationibus* (that is, speeches introduced into his history) *multa sed inepta elatio summa impudentia.*

and the election of new magistrates to complete their year of duty was unknown in the early republic. Moreover the names of these 'subrogated' consuls reappear as consular tribunes in 416, to which year the Ardeatine treaty may very easily have belonged. For these reasons the existence of these consuls is dubious. But if they are mythical, Livy's first censors must obviously vanish into myth with them. Now Dr Mommsen, in the book referred to above, has suggested a very probable genesis of this story of the subrogated consuls and the censors. If the existence of an old Ardeatine treaty is assumed, date unknown, this year 443 following the conflict with Ardea in 446, 445 was a plausible date to assign to it. The next step necessary would be to introduce the signatories of the treaty on the Roman side into the magistracy of that year. If, as is very likely, they appeared in the treaty as *praetores*, in the simple sense of 'generals', it would be easy to assume that they were consuls, *praetores* having been the ordinary designation of consuls at least down to the overthrow of the decemvirate. But in order to introduce them, it was necessary to get rid of the consular tribunes. This was done in a way which would naturally suggest itself to historians of a later date, by the story of the *vitium*, with its details adapted to later usage. The consuls thus invented were ready to fill the censorship, which it was desired to assign to a year anterior to 434. For the censorship was always held by ex-consuls. Now the first censors having thus been brought into office in 443, it followed that the law of Aemilius[1] (which in all probability was passed when the first censors took office and fixed the duration of their term of office to begin with) must be subsequent to the first election, and its object to curtail the duration of the office, assumed to have been hitherto for five years. Now if we seek for a motive for this falsification[2] (which may have been assisted by other traditional notices of which we are not informed) or of a large

[1] c. 24.

[2] It is of course quite possible that the censorship was instituted in the year 443. What is contended is that the first censors were not elected till 434.

part of it, we may with considerable probability look for it in the circumstances of the revival of the censorship after the death of Sulla. The duration of the office was then fixed at five years. It would be an advantage to the leaders of the reaction to represent this change as a return to primitive usage, and this with a little adroitness and a free use of the 'linen books' might, as we see, be effected by a political historian of the democratic party such as Licinius Macer was. The contradictions involved in the story could be kept out of sight, while the natural confusion between the duration of the *lustrum* and of the censorship could be utilised to support the new theory.

That the censorship should have been originally a five years' office is in the highest degree improbable. Such a term of office would have been as unnecessary as it was unprecedented. When we remember that the consuls had previously performed these in addition to their other duties, and that presumably the consuls, to whose lot the work fell, would complete it within their year of office, it seems natural to suppose that eighteen months was the term originally fixed, the margin of six months being very intelligible, if we suppose that the consuls may have found a difficulty sometimes in completing the work within the year.

(2) Livy's account of the cause of the institution of the office seems probable and is very likely correct as far as it goes, namely, that the consuls wished to be relieved of the duties now assigned to the censors. That the motive suggested by Dr Mommsen, *R. H.* I. 299, was also present is highly probable. But in his account of the original importance of the office Livy is careless and self-contradictory. He represents it as so onerous and insignificant that the principal men in the State refused to serve it, and the tribunes did not think it worth while to oppose the institution of it. Yet the patricians, he believes, saw all the future possibilities of the office, and the first holders of it were ex-consuls, slightly damaged ones perhaps, but still consulars, as the holders practically continued to be always. But more than this, the holders of this insignificant office, according to the account he adopts, nine years after the first institution of it were able to take revenge on an ex-dictator by

degrading him to the *aerarii*. The truth seems to be that the office must have been important from the beginning though not so important as it afterwards became. For (1) officials performing duties formerly performed by kings and consuls, and regularly elected from the consulars, could not be altogether insignificant; (2) the censorial power (in the modern sense), the power, that is, to inquire into the lives of citizens, to affix a stigma to those who were failing in their duty as Roman citizens, and even to remove such from their tribes, and reduce them to the position of *aerarii* must in all probability have belonged to the censors from the beginning, and with this supposition the tradition about the office embodied in the story of Mam. Aemilius is in agreement. Further the financial or economical functions of the censors, their position as superintendents of the state property, must also in all probability date from the commencement of the office.

The subsequent increase in the importance of the censorship was due (1) to the development of the people among whom its duties were performed, (2) to an actual addition to the censorial functions in the revision of the Senate-list, the duty of filling up vacancies in that body and expelling unworthy members from it. It was apparently by the *lex Ovinia* (circ. B.C. 312) that the latter power was added[1]. Up to that time it would

[1] Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, II. p. 414, on this point quotes Festus who says *praeteriti senatores quondam in opprobrio non erant quod ut reges sibi legebant sublegebantque quos in consilio publico haberent, ita post exactos eos consules quoque et tribuni militum consulari potestate coniunctissimos sibi quosque patriciorum et deinde plebeiorum legebant, donec Ovinia tribunicia intervenit, qua sanctum est ut censores ex omni ordine optimum quemque in senatum legerent; quo factum est, ut qui praeteriti essent et loco moti, haberentur ignominiosi*. According to this, it would appear that by the *lex Ovinia* (1) the duty of filling up vacancies in the senate was transferred to the censors, (2) a *lectio senatus* in the full and later sense of the term began by expulsion and filling up vacancies, since in speaking of the former state of things Festus mentions only *praeteriti senatores*, who owing to the interested motives and arbitrary method of those who filled vacancies at that time incurred no

seem that the chief magistrates, consuls or consular tribunes, had retained the right of filling up vacancies and that the tenure of a seat in the senate had practically been for life. The story of the censors and Aemilius says nothing about his being expelled from the senate in consequence of the censors' action, so that according to tradition the censors possessed no such power at that time.

IV. The subject of the quaestorship is also so fully treated in Prof. Ramsay's book that I need only here point out that Dr Mommsen taking the opposite view to that stated by Prof. Ramsay gives good reason for supposing that the *quaestores parricidii* and the *quaestores aerarii* were originally identical (*Staatsrecht*, II. 513, 525).

It is needless to load this introduction with an account of the foreign events recorded in this book. There is the regular series of campaigns, mainly against the Volsci, Aequi and Veientines, about which it is as certain that they must have been fought in some way or other, as it is probable that the details of them drawn by Livy from the annalists are imaginary. All that can be considered historical in the narrative will be found in Mommsen, *R.H.* Book II. cc. 4, 5. With the last act of the Veientine war, the siege of Veii, with the beginning of which the book closes, is connected the interesting fact alluded to above, the first payment of legionary soldiers for their service in the field. The connection is very probable. The siege of Veii must have lasted a considerable time and to carry it to a successful issue, it was necessary that the army should serve continuously in the field for several years. Men thus removed from their homes all the year round must be paid, or they would be absolutely ruined.

Livy's account is rather calculated to give the impression that the *tributum* or war-tax dated from this time. This is of course not the case. The tax paid by Roman citizens *tributim*, for the general expenses of any war that was undertaken with

disgrace by being passed over, whereas in speaking of the state of things after the *lex Ovinia* he mentions *loco moti* as well.

their consent, must date from the earliest times[1]. The change made at this time would appear to consist in this, that the state supplemented the *tributum* out of the treasury (*ex aerario*), that is, out of the *vectigalia* or *regular* revenues of the state[2] to the extent necessary to pay the soldiers who hitherto had served at their own expense.

[1] Dionysius speaking of the year B.C. 508 says *τιμήσεις δὲ ἐγένοντο τῶν βίων καὶ τάξεις τῶν εἰς τοὺς πολέμους εἰσφορῶν*, V. 20. Compare Livy II. 9. 6 *tributo plebes liberata.*

[2] Compare c. 36 § 2.

TITI LIVII

AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER IV.

B.C. 445. *Consuls, M. Genucius and C. Curtius. Proposal of* 1
C. Canuleius to legalise intermarriage between the two orders, and of nine tribunes to open the consulship to Plebeians. Taking advantage of the news of the revolt of Ardea and of hostile movements among the Veientines, Volsci, and Aequi, the Senate order a levy and make vigorous preparations for war. Canuleius after a few words of indignant protest leaves the senate to hold a contio.

Hos secuti M. Genucius et C. Curtius consules. fuit
annus domi forisque infestus. nam anni principio et de
conubio patrum et plebis C. Canuleius tribunus plebis roga-
tionem promulgavit, qua contaminari sanguinem suum patres 2
confundique iura gentium rebantur, et mentio primo sensim
inlata a tribunis, ut alterum ex plebe consulem liceret fieri,
eo processit deinde, ut rogationem novem tribuni promul-
garent, ut populo potestas esset, seu de plebe seu de patribus
vellet, consules faciendi. id vero si fieret, non vulgari modo 3
cum infimis, sed prorsus auferri a primoribus ad plebem
summum imperium credebant.

Laeti ergo audiere patres Ardeatium populum ob iniu- 4
riam agri abiudicati descisse, et Veientes depopulatos ex-

trema agri Romani, et Volscos Aequosque ob communitam
Verruginem fremere; adeo vel infelix bellum ignominiosae
5 paci praeferebant. his itaque in maius etiam acceptis, ut
inter strepitum tot bellorum conticiscerent actiones tribuni-
ciae, dilectus haberi, bellum armaque vi summa apparari
iubent, si quo intentius possit, quam T. Quinctio consule
6 apparatum sit. tum C. Canuleius pauca in senatu vocifera-
tus, nequiquam territando consules avertere plebem a cura
novarum legum; numquam eos se vivo dilectum habituros,
antequam ea, quae promulgata ab se collegisque essent,
plebes scivisset, confestim ad contionem advocavit.

2 *The consuls in the senate denounce the Tribunician proposals. 'The recklessness of the tribunes must be stopped. Concession only provokes fresh demands, and the end will be utter confusion and overthrow of the Roman constitution.'*

Eodem tempore et consules senatum in tribunum et tri-
bunus populum in consules incitabat. negabant consules
iam ultra ferri posse furores tribunicios: ventum iam ad
finem esse; domi plus belli concitari quam foris. id adeo
non plebis quam patrum neque tribunorum magis quam con-
2 sulum culpa accidere. cuius rei praemium sit in civitate,
3 eam maxumis semper auctibus crescere; sic pace bonos, sic
bello fieri. maximum Romae praemium seditionum esse; id
4 singulis universisque semper honori fuisse. reminiscerentur,
quam maiestatem senatus ipsi a patribus accepissent, quam
liberis tradituri essent, et quemadmodum plebs gloriari
posset auctiorem amplioremque se esse. finem ergo non
fieri, nec futuram, donec, quam felices seditiones, tam hono-
5 rati seditionum auctores essent. quas quantasque res C.
Canuleium adgressum! colluvionem gentium, perturbationem
auspiciorum publicorum privatorumque adferre, ne quid sin-
ceri, ne quid incontaminati sit, ut discrimine omni sublato

nec se quisquam nec suos noverit. quam enim aliam vim 6
conubia promiscua habere, nisi ut ferarum prope ritu vul-
gentur concubitus plebis patrumque? ut qui natus sit ignoret,
cuius sanguinis, quorum sacrorum sit; dimidius patrum sit,
dimidius plebis, ne secum quidem ipse concors. parum id 7
videri, quod omnia divina humanaque turbentur; iam ad
consulatum vulgi turbatores accingi. et primo, ut alter
consul ex plebe fieret, id modo sermonibus temptasse; nunc
rogari, ut, seu ex patribus seu ex plebe velit, populus con-
sules creet. et creaturos haud dubie ex plebe seditiosissi-
mum quemque; Canuleios igitur Iciliosque consules fore.
ne id Iuppiter Optimus Maximus sineret, regiae maiestatis 8
imperium eo recidere; et se miliens morituros potius, quam
ut tantum dedecoris admitti patiantur. certum habere 9
maiores quoque, si divinassent concedendo omnia non miti-
orem in se plebem, sed asperiorem alia ex aliis iniquiora
postulando, cum prima impetrasset, futuram, primo quam-
libet dimicationem subituros fuisse potius, quam eas leges
sibi imponi paterentur. quia tum concessum sit de tribunis, 10
iterum concessum esse; finem non fieri. *non* posse in eadem 11
civitate tribunos plebis et patres esse; aut hunc ordinem
aut illum magistratum tollendum esse, potiusque sero quam
numquam obviam eundum audaciae temeritatique. illine 12
ut impune primo discordias serentes concitent finitima bella,
deinde adversus ea, quae concitaverint, armari civitatem
defendique prohibeant, et cum hostes tantum non arcessie-
rint, exercitus conscribi adversus hostes non patiantur, sed
audeat Canuleius in senatu proloqui se, nisi suas leges tam- 13
quam victoris patres accipi sinant, dilectum haberi prohibi-
turum? quid esse aliud quam minari se proditurum patriam,
oppugnari atque capi passurum? quid eam vocem animorum
non plebi Romanae, sed Volscis et Aequis et Veientibus ad-
laturam? nonne Canuleio duce se speraturos Capitolium 14

atque arcem scandere posse? *ni*si patribus tribuni cum iure ac maiestate adempta animos etiam eripuerint, consules paratos esse duces prius adversus scelus civium quam adversus hostium arma.

3 *Speech of Canuleius before the* contio *in support of the proposals. 'The patricians regard the plebeians as inferior creatures. That is the reason why they refuse to them the* conubium, *which they grant to foreigners, and declare that opening the consulship will ruin a state in which aliens have been elected kings.*

Cum maxime haec in senatu agerentur, Canuleius pro legibus suis et adversus consules ita disseruit:

2 'Quanto opere vos, Quirites, contemnerent patres, quam
indignos ducerent, qui una secum urbe intra eadem moenia
viveretis, saepe equidem et ante videor animadvertisse, nunc
tamen maxime, quod adeo atroces in has rogationes nostras
3 coorti sunt. quibus quid aliud quam admonemus cives nos
eorum esse, et si non easdem opes habere, eandem tamen
4 patriam incolere? altera conubium petimus, quod finitumis
externisque dari solet—nos quidem civitatem, quae plus
5 quam conubium est, hostibus etiam victis dedimus—; altera
nihil novi ferimus, sed id, quod populi est, repetimus atque
usurpamus, ut, quibus velit, populus Romanus honores
6 mandet. quid tandem est, cur caelum ac terras misceant,
cur in me impetus modo paene in senatu sit factus, negent
se manibus temperaturos violaturosque denuntient sacro-
7 sanctam potestatem? si populo Romano liberum suffra-
gium datur, ut, quibus velit, consulatum mandet, et non
praeciditur spes plebeio quoque, si dignus summo honore
erit, apiscendi summi honoris, stare urbs haec non poterit?
de imperio actum est? et perinde hoc valet plebeiusne
consul fiat, tamquam servum aut libertinum aliquis consulem
8 futurum dicat? ecquid sentitis, in quanto contemptu vivatis?

lucis vobis huius partem, si liceat, adimant; quod spiratis,
quod vocem mittitis, quod formas hominum habetis, indig-
nantur; quin etiam, si dis placet, nefas aiunt esse consulem
plebeium fieri. obsecro vos: si non ad fastos, non ad com- 9
mentarios pontificum admittimur, ne ea quidem scimus,
quae omnes peregrini etiam sciunt, consules in locum regum
successisse, nec aut iuris aut maiestatis quicquam habere,
quod non in regibus ante fuerit? en umquam creditis fando 10
auditum esse Numam Pompilium, non modo non patricium,
sed ne civem quidem Romanum, ex Sabino agro accitum
populi iussu patribus auctoribus Romae regnasse? L. deinde 11
Tarquinium, non Romanae modo, sed ne Italicae quidem
gentis, Demarati Corinthii filium, incolam a Tarquiniis, vivis
liberis Anci regem factum? Servium Tullium post hunc, 12
captiva Corniculana natum, patre nullo, matre serva, ingenio
virtute regnum tenuisse? quid enim de T. Tatio Sabino
dicam, quem ipse Romulus parens urbis in societatem regni
accepit? ergo dum nullum fastiditur genus, in quo eniteret 13
virtus, crevit imperium Romanum. paeniteat nunc vos
plebei consulis, cum maiores nostri advenas reges non fasti-
dierint, et ne regibus quidem exactis clausa urbs fuerit pere-
grinae virtuti? Claudiam certe gentem post reges exactos 14
ex Sabinis non in civitatem modo accepimus, sed etiam in
patriciorum numerum. ex peregrinone patricius, deinde 15
consul fiat; civis Romanus si sit ex plebe, praecisa consu-
latus spes erit? utrum tandem non credimus fieri posse, ut 16
vir fortis ac strenuus, pace belloque bonus, ex plebe sit,
Numae, L. Tarquinio, Ser. Tullio similis, an, ne si sit qui- 17
dem, ad gubernacula rei publicae accedere eum patiemur
potiusque decemviris, taeterrimis mortalium, qui tamen
omnes ex patribus erant, quam optimis regum, novis homi-
nibus, similes consules sumus habituri?

4 ‘*If no plebeian has ever been elected consul, that is no reason for not making the change. Innovations must be made in a growing state. The history of Rome hitherto has been a series of such innovations. Patricians need not intermarry with plebeians, if they do not choose. But what they really object to is treating plebeians as fellow-creatures.*’

‘At enim nemo post reges exactos de plebe consul
fuit.’ quid postea? nullane res nova institui debet, et quod
nondum est factum—multa enim nondum sunt facta in
novo populo—ea, ne si utilia quidem sint, fieri oportet?
2 pontifices, augures Romulo regnante nulli erant; ab Numa
Pompilio creati sunt. census in civitate et discriptio cen-
turiarum classiumque non erat; ab Ser. Tullio est facta.
3 consules numquam fuerant; regibus exactis creati sunt.
dictatoris nec imperium nec nomen fuerat; apud patres
esse coepit. tribuni plebi, aediles, quaestores nulli erant;
institutum est, ut fierent. decemviros legibus scribendis
intra decem hos annos et creavimus et e re publica sus-
4 tulimus. quis dubitat, quin in aeternum urbe condita, in
immensum crescente, nova imperia, sacerdotia, iura gen-
5 tium hominumque instituantur? hoc ipsum, ne conubium
patribus cum plebe esset, non decemviri tulerunt paucis
his annis pessimo publico cum summa iniuria plebis? an
esse ulla maior aut insignitior contumelia potest, quam
partem civitatis velut contaminatam indignam conubio ha-
6 beri? quid est aliud quam exilium intra eadem moenia,
quam relegationem pati? ne adfinitatibus, ne propinqui-
7 tatibus immisceamur, cavent, ne societur sanguis. quid?
hoc si polluit nobilitatem istam vestram—quam plerique
oriundi ex Albanis et Sabinis non genere nec sanguine,
sed per cooptationem in patres habetis, aut ab regibus lecti
aut post reges exactos iussu populi—, sinceram servare pri-
vatis consiliis non poteratis nec ducendo ex plebe neque

vestras filias sororesque enubere sinendo e patribus? nemo 8
plebeius patriciae virgini vim adferret—patriciorum ista
libido est—; nemo invitum pactionem nuptialem quemquam
facere coëgisset. verum enimvero lege id prohiberi et co- 9
nubium tolli patrum ac plebis, id demum contumeliosum
plebi est. cur enim non fertis, ne sit conubium divitibus ac
pauperibus? quod privatorum consiliorum ubique semper 10
fuit, ut in quam cuique feminae convenisset domum nuberet,
ex qua pactus esset vir domo in matrimonium duceret, id
vos sub legis superbissumae vincula conicitis, qua dirimatis
societatem civilem duasque ex una civitates faciatis. cur 11
non sancitis, ne vicinus patricio sit plebeius, ne eodem
itinere eat, ne idem convivium ineat, ne in foro eodem
consistat? quid enim in re est aliud, si plebeiam patricius
duxerit, si patriciam plebeius? quid iuris tandem mutatur?
nempe patrem sequuntur liberi. nec, quod nos ex conubio 12
vestro petamus, quicquam est, praeterquam ut hominum,
ut civium numero simus, nec vos, nisi in contumeliam
ignominiamque nostram certare iuvat, quod contendatis,
quicquam est.

'*He will uphold,*' *he says*, '*the right of the people to free legislation, and prevent the preparations for wars invented by the patricians to baffle the legitimate desires of the people.*' 5

Denique utrum tandem populi Romani an vestrum
summum imperium est? regibus exactis utrum vobis do-
minatio an omnibus aequa libertas parta est? oportet licere 2
populo Romano, si velit, iubere legem; an, ut quaeque
rogatio promulgata erit, vos dilectum pro poena decernetis?
et, simul ego tribunus vocare tribus in suffragium coepero,
tu statim consul sacramento iuniores adiges et in castra
educes et minaberis plebi, minaberis tribuno? quid, si non, 3
quantum istae minae adversus plebis consensum valerent,

bis iam experti essetis? scilicet quia nobis consultum vo-
lebatis, certamine abstinuistis; an ideo non est dimicatum,
quod, quae pars firmior, eadem modestior fuit? nec nunc
4 erit certamen, Quirites. animos vestros illi temptabunt sem-
5 per, vires non experientur. itaque ad bella ista, seu falsa
seu vera sunt, consules, parata vobis plebes est, si conubiis
redditis unam hanc civitatem tandem facitis, si coalescere,
si iungi miscerique vobis privatis necessitudinibus possunt,
si spes, si aditus ad honores viris strenuis et fortibus datur,
si in consortio, si in societate rei publicae esse, si, quod
aequae libertatis est, in vicem annuis magistratibus parere
6 atque imperitare licet. si haec impediet aliquis, ferte ser-
monibus et multiplicate fama bella; nemo est nomen da-
turus, nemo arma capturus, nemo dimicaturus pro superbis
dominis, cum quibus nec in re publica honorum nec in
privata conubii societas est.'

6 *Canuleius carries his proposal about intermarriage. On the other point the tribunes consent to a compromise.* Tribuni militum consulari potestate *may be elected from patricians or plebeians.*

Cum in contionem et consules processissent et res a
perpetuis orationibus in altercationem vertisset, interro-
2 ganti tribuno, cur plebeium consulem fieri non oporteret,
ut fortasse vere, sic parum utiliter in praesens certamen
responderunt, quod nemo plebeius auspicia haberet, ideo-
que decemviros conubium diremisse, ne incerta prole aus-
3 picia turbarentur. plebes ad id maxime indignatione ex-
arsit, quod auspicari, tamquam invisi dis immortalibus,
negarentur posse; nec ante finis contentionum fuit, cum et
tribunum acerrimum auctorem plebes nacta esset et ipsa
cum eo pertinacia certaret, quam victi tandem patres, ut
4 de conubio ferretur, concessere, ita maxime rati conten-
tionem de plebeis consulibus tribunos aut totam deposituros

aut post bellum dilaturos esse, contentamque interim co-
nubio plebem paratam dilectui fore.

Cum Canuleius victoria de patribus et plebis favore in- 5
gens esset, accensi alii tribuni ad certamen pro rogatione
sua summa vi pugnant et crescente in dies fama belli di-
lectum impediunt. consules, cum per senatum interce- 6
dentibus tribunis nihil agi posset, concilia principum domi
habebant. apparebat aut hostibus aut civibus de victoria
concedendum esse. soli ex consularibus Valerius atque 7
Horatius non intererant consiliis. C. Claudi sententia con-
sules armabat in tribunos; Quinctiorum, Cincinnatique et
Capitolini, sententiae abhorrebant a caede violandisque,
quos foedere icto cum plebe sacrosanctos accepissent. per 8
haec consilia eo deducta est res, ut tribunos militum consu-
lari potestate promiscue ex patribus ac plebe creari sinerent,
de consulibus creandis nihil mutaretur; eoque contenti
tribuni, contenta plebs fuit.

Comitia tribunis consulari potestate tribus creandis in- 9
dicuntur. quibus indictis extemplo quicumque aliquid se-
ditiose dixerat aut fecerat umquam, maxime tribunicii, et
prensare homines et concursare toto foro candidati coepere,
ut patricios desperatio primo inritata plebe apiscendi ho- 10
noris, deinde indignatio, si cum his gerendus esset honos,
deterreret. postremo coacti tamen a primoribus petiere, ne
cessisse possessione rei publicae viderentur. eventus eorum 11
comitiorum docuit alios animos in contentione libertatis
dignitatisque, alios secundum deposita certamina incorrupto
iudicio esse; tribunos enim omnes patricios creavit populus,
contentus eo, quod ratio habita plebeiorum esset. hanc 12
modestiam aequitatemque et altitudinem animi ubi nunc
in uno inveneris, quae tum populi universi fuit!

B.C. 444. *Three consular tribunes are elected, all patricians.* 7
But two months after, they abdicate in consequence of a flaw

(vitium) *in their election. After a struggle between the two orders consuls are elected in their place. These renew the treaty with the people of Ardea, whose ambassadors, coming to remonstrate about the injustice of the Roman decision in the matter related in* III. 71, *received a satisfactory reply from the senate. The names of the consuls of this year are not given in the old annals nor in the magistrates' lists, but according to Licinius Macer appeared in the Ardeatine treaty and in the* libri lintei.

Anno trecentesimo decimo, quam urbs Roma condita
erat, primum tribuni militum pro consulibus magistratum
ineunt, A. Sempronius Atratinus, L. Atilius, T. Caecilius,
quorum in magistratu concordia domi pacem etiam foris
2 praebuit. sunt qui propter adiectum Aequorum Volsco-
rumque bello et Ardeatium defectioni Veiens bellum, quia
duo consules obire tot simul bella nequirent, tribunos mi-
litum tres creatos dicant sine mentione promulgatae legis
de consulibus creandis ex plebe, et imperio et insignibus
3 consularibus usos. non tamen pro firmato iam stetit ma-
gistratus eius ius, quia tertio mense, quam inierunt, au-
gurum decreto perinde ac vitio creati honore abiere, quod
C. Curtius, qui comitiis eorum praefuerat, parum recte
tabernaculum cepisset.

4 Legati ab Ardea Romam venerunt ita de iniuria queren-
tes, ut, si demeretur ea, in foedere atque amicitia mansuros
5 restituto agro appareret. ab senatu responsum est: iudi-
cium populi rescindi ab senatu non posse, praeterquam quod
nullo nec exemplo nec iure fieret, concordiae etiam ordinum
6 causa; si Ardeates sua tempora exspectare velint arbitrium-
que senatui levandae iniuriae suae permittant, fore ut post-
modo gaudeant se irae moderatos sciantque patribus aeque
curae fuisse, ne qua iniuria in eos oreretur, ac ne orta diu-
turna esset. ita legati, cum se rem integram relaturos dixis-
sent, comiter dimissi.

7 Patricii, cum sine curuli magistratu res publica esset,

coiere et interregem creavere. contentio, consulesne an
tribuni militum crearentur, in interregno rem dies complures
tenuit. interrex ac senatus consulum comitia, tribuni plebis 8
et plebs tribunorum militum ut habeantur tendunt. vicerunt
patres, quia et plebs, patriciis seu hunc seu illum delatura
honorem, frustra certare supersedit, et principes plebis ea 9
comitia malebant, quibus non haberetur ratio sua, quam
quibus ut indigni praeterirentur. tribuni quoque plebi cer-
tamen sine effectu in beneficio apud primores patrum reli-
quere.

T. Quinctius Barbatus interrex consules creat L. Papirium 10
Mugilanum, L. Sempronium Atratinum. his consulibus cum
Ardeatibus foedus renovatum est; idque monumenti est
consules eos illo anno fuisse, qui neque in annalibus priscis
neque in libris magistratuum inveniuntur. credo, quod tri- 11
buni militum initio anni fuerunt, eo, perinde ac totum an-
num in imperio fuerint, suffectos iis consules praetermissos.
nomina consulum horum Licinius Macer auctor est et in 12
foedere Ardeatino et in linteis libris ad Monetae inventa.
et foris, cum tot terrores a finitimis ostentati essent, et domi
otium fuit.

B.C. 443. *Consuls. Institution of the censorship. Insignificance* 8
of the office at its first institution. The dubious consuls of the previous year are the first censors.

Hunc annum—seu tribunos modo, seu tribunis suffectos
consules quoque habuit—sequitur annus haud dubiis consu-
libus, M. Geganio Macerino iterum, T. Quinctio Capitolino
quintum consule. idem hic annus censurae initium fuit, rei 2
a parva origine ortae, quae deinde tanto incremento aucta
est, ut morum disciplinaeque Romanae penes eam regimen,
senatus equitumque centuriis decoris dedecorisque discrimen
sub dicione eius magistratus, ius publicorum privatorumque

locorum, vectigalia populi Romani sub nutu atque arbitrio
3 eius essent. ortum autem initium est rei, quod in populo
per multos annos incenso neque differri census poterat, neque
consulibus, cum tot populorum bella imminerent, operae erat
4 id negotium agere. mentio inlata ab senatu est rem opero-
sam ac minime consularem suo proprio magistratu egere,
cui scribarum ministerium custodiaeque tabularum cura, cui
5 arbitrium formulae censendi subiceretur. et patres quam-
quam rem parvam, tamen, quo plures patricii magistratus in
re publica essent, laeti accepere, id, quod evenit, futurum,
credo, etiam rati, ut mox opes eorum, qui praeessent, ipsi
6 honori ius maiestatemque adicerent, et tribuni, id quod tunc
erat, magis necessarii quam speciosi ministerii procurationem
intuentes, ne in parvis quoque rebus incommode adversa-
7 rentur, haud sane tetendere. cum a primoribus civitatis
spretus honor esset, Papirium Semproniumque, quorum de
consulatu dubitatur, ut eo magistratu parum solidum consu-
latum explerent, censui agendo populus suffragiis praefecit.
censores ab re appellati sunt.

9 *The Romans aid the* optimates *of Ardea against the Volsci, whose assistance the* plebs *of Ardea have secured, in a civil war arising out of a dispute about the marriage of an Ardeatine maiden.*

Dum haec Romae geruntur, legati ab Ardea veniunt pro
veterrima societate renovatoque foedere recenti auxilium
2 prope eversae urbi implorantes. frui namque pace optimo
consilio cum populo Romano servata, per intestina arma
non licuit; quorum causa atque initium traditur ex certamine
3 factionum ortum, quae fuerunt eruntque pluribus populis
exitio quam bella externa, quam fames morbive, quaeque
alia in deum iras velut ultima publicorum malorum vertunt.
4 Virginem plebei generis maxime forma notam *duo* petiere
iuvenes, alter virgini genere par, tutoribus fretus, qui et ipsi

eiusdem corporis erant, nobilis alter nulla re praeterquam
forma captus. adiuvabant eum optumatium studia, per quae 5
in domum quoque puellae certamen partium penetravit.
nobilis superior iudicio matris esse, quae quam splendidissi-
mis nuptiis iungi puellam volebat; tutores in ea quoque
re partium memores ad suum tendere. cum res peragi in- 6
tra parietes nequisset, ventum in ius est. postulatu audito
matris tutorumque magistratus secundum parentis arbitrium
dant ius nuptiarum. sed vis potentior fuit; namque tutores, 7
inter suae partis homines de iniuria decreti palam in foro
contionati, manu facta virginem ex domo matris rapiunt.
adversus quos infestior coorta optumatium acies sequitur 8
accensum iniuria iuvenem. fit proelium atrox. pulsa plebs,
nihil Romanae plebi similis, armata ex urbe profecta, colle
quodam capto in agros optumatium cum ferro ignique ex-
cursiones facit. urbem quoque, omni, etiam experte ante 9
certaminis, multitudine opificum ad spem praedae evocata,
obsidere parat. nec ulla species cladesque belli abest 10
velut contacta civitate rabie duorum iuvenum funestas nup-
tias ex occasu patriae petentium.

Parum parti utrique domi armorum bellique est visum: 11
optimates Romanos ad auxilium urbis obsessae, plebs ad
expugnandam secum Ardeam Volscos excivere. priores 12
Volsci duce Aequo Cluilio Ardeam venere et moenibus
hostium vallum obiecere. quod ubi Romam est nuntia- 13
tum, extemplo M. Geganius consul cum exercitu profectus
tria milia passuum ab hoste locum castris cepit praecipiti-
que iam die curare corpora milites iubet. quarta deinde
vigilia signa profert, coeptumque opus adeo adproperatum
est, ut sole orto Volsci firmiore se munimento ab Romanis
circumvallatos quam ab se urbem viderent. et alia parte 14
consul muro Ardeae bracchium iniunxerat, qua ex oppido
sui commeare possent.

10 *The Romans defeat the Volsci and restore tranquillity in Ardea. Quinctius the consul wins great repute by the severe impartiality with which he treats the claims of patricians and plebeians alike.*

Volscus imperator, qui ad eam diem non commeatu
praeparato, sed ex populatione agrorum rapto in diem fru-
mento aluisset militem, postquam saeptus vallo repente
inops omnium rerum erat, ad colloquium consule evocato,
si solvendae obsidionis causa venerit Romanus, abductu-
2 rum se inde Volscos ait. adversus ea consul victis condi-
ciones accipiendas esse, non ferendas respondit, neque, ut
venerint ad oppugnandos socios populi Romani suo arbi-
3 trio, ita abituros Volscos esse. dedi imperatorem, arma
poni iubet, fatentes, victos se esse, imperio parere; aliter
tam abeuntibus quam manentibus se hostem infestum
victoriam potius ex Volscis quam pacem infidam Romam
4 relaturum. Volsci exiguam spem in armis, alia undique
abscisa, cum temptassent, praeter cetera adversa loco quo-
que iniquo ad pugnam congressi, iniquiore ad fugam, cum
ab omni parte caederentur, ad preces a certamine versi
dedito imperatore traditisque armis sub iugum missi cum
singulis vestimentis ignominiae cladisque pleni dimittun-
5 tur. et cum haud procul urbe Tusculo consedissent,
vetere Tusculanorum odio inermes oppressi dederunt poe-
nas vix nuntiis caedis relictis.

6 Romanus Ardeae turbatas seditione res principibus eius
motus securi percussis bonisque eorum in publicum Ar-
deatium redactis composuit, demptamque iniuriam iudicii
tanto beneficio populi Romani Ardeates credebant; senatui
superesse aliquid ad delendum publicae avaritiae monu-
7 mentum videbatur. consul triumphans in urbem redit
Cluilio, duce Volscorum, ante currum ducto praelatisque
spoliis, quibus dearmatum exercitum hostium sub iugum
miserat.

Aequavit, quod haud facile est, Quinctius consul toga- 8
tus armati gloriam collegae, quia concordiae pacisque do-
mesticae curam iura infimis summisque moderando ita
tenuit, ut eum et patres severum consulem et plebs satis
comem crediderint. et adversus tribunos auctoritate plura 9
quam certamine tenuit; quinque consulatus eodem tenore
gesti vitaque omnis consulariter acta verendum paene
ipsum magis quam honorem faciebant. eo tribunorum mi-
litarium nulla mentio his consulibus fuit.

B.C. 442. *Consuls. Colony planted at Ardea by way of compensating the inhabitants for the land of which they had been unjustly deprived, the land assigned being the disputed land, and all Rutulian applicants being satisfied before any land is assigned to Romans.* **11**

Consules creantur M. Fabius Vibulanus, Postumus Ae-
butius Cornicen. Fabius et Aebutius consules, quo maiori 2
gloriae rerum domi forisque gestarum succedere se cerne-
bant, maxime autem memorabilem annum apud finitimos,
socios hostesque, esse, quod Ardeatibus in re praecipiti
tanta foret cura subventum, eo impensius, ut delerent pror- 3
sus ex animis hominum infamiam iudicii, senatus consul-
tum fecerunt, ut, quoniam civitas Ardeatium intestino
tumultu redacta ad paucos esset, coloni eo praesidii causa
adversus Volscos scriberentur. hoc palam relatum in 4
tabulas, ut plebem tribunosque falleret iudicii rescindendi
consilium initum. consenserant autem, ut multo maiore
parte Rutulorum colonorum quam Romanorum scripta nec
ager ullus divideretur nisi is, qui interceptus iudicio infami
erat, nec ulli prius Romano ibi, quam omnibus Rutulis
divisus esset, gleba ulla agri adsignaretur. sic ager ad Ar-
deates rediit. triumviri ad coloniam Ardeam deducendam 5
creati Agrippa Menenius, T. Cluilius Siculus, M. Aebutius
Helva. qui per minime populare ministerium, agro adsig- 6

nando sociis, quem populus Romanus suum iudicasset,
cum plebem offendissent, ne primoribus quidem patrum
satis accepti, quod nihil gratiae cuiusquam dederant, vexa-
7 tiones, ad populum iam die dicta ad tribunis, coloni adscripti
remanendo in colonia, quam testem integritatis iustitiaeque
habebant, vitavere.

12 B.C. 441. *Consuls. Peace at home and abroad.*

Pax domi forisque fuit et hoc et insequente anno,
2 C. Furio Pacilo et M. Papirio Crasso consulibus. ludi ab
decemviris per secessionem plebis a patribus ex senatus
3 consulto voti eo anno facti sunt. causa seditionum nequi-
quam a Poetilio quaesita, qui tribunus plebis iterum ea ipsa
4 denuntiando factus neque, ut de agris dividendis plebi
referrent consules ad senatum, pervincere potuit, et cum
magno certamine obtinuisset, ut consulerentur patres, con-
sulum an tribunorum placeret comitia haberi, consules
5 creari iussi sunt; ludibrioque erant minae tribuni denunti-
antis se dilectum impediturum, cum quietis finitumis neque
bello neque belli apparatu opus esset.

B.C. 440. *Famine which Minucius, appointed* praefectus annonae, *in vain tries to relieve. Many of the poorer Romans commit suicide.*

6 Sequitur hanc tranquillitatem rerum annus, Proculo Ge-
ganio Macerino, L. Menenio Lanato consulibus, multiplici
clade ac periculo insignis, seditionibus, fame, regno prope
7 per largitionis dulcedinem in cervices accepto. unum afuit
bellum externum; quo si adgravatae res essent, vix ope
deorum omnium [re]sisti potuisset. coepere a fame mala,
seu adversus annus frugibus fuit, seu dulcedine contionum
et urbis deserto agrorum cultu; nam utrumque traditur.
et patres plebem desidem et tribuni plebis nunc fraudem

nunc neglegentiam consulum accusabant. postremo per- 8
pulere plebem haud adversante senatu, ut L. Minucius
praefectus annonae crearetur, felicior in eo magistratu ad
custodiam libertatis futurus quam ad curationem ministerii
sui, quamquam postremo annonae quoque levatae haud
immeritam et gratiam et gloriam tulit. qui cum multis 9
circa finitumos populos legationibus terra marique nequi-
quam missis, nisi quod ex Etruria haud ita multum fru-
menti advectum est, nullum momentum annonae fecisset
et revolutus ad dispensationem inopiae profiteri cogendo 10
frumentum et vendere, quod usui menstruo superesset,
fraudandoque parte diurni cibi servitia, criminando inde
et obiciendo irae populi frumentarios, acerba inquisitione
aperiret magis quam levaret inopiam, multi ex plebe spe 11
amissa potius, quam ut cruciarentur trahendo animam,
capitibus obvolutis se in Tiberim praecipitaverunt.

Sp. Maelius relieving the poorer citizens at his own cost is accused of designing to make himself king. **13**

Tum Sp. Maelius ex equestri ordine, ut illis temporibus
praedives, rem utilem pessimo exemplo, peiore consilio est
adgressus. frumento namque ex Etruria privata pecunia 2
per hospitum clientiumque ministeria coëmpto—quae,
credo, ipsa res ad levandam publica cura annonam impe-
dimento fuerat—largitiones frumenti facere instituit ple- 3
bemque hoc munere delenitam, quacumque incederet,
conspectus elatusque supra modum hominis privati secum
trahere haud dubium consulatum favore ac spe desponden-
tem. ipse, ut est humanus animus insatiabilis eo, quod 4
fortuna spondet, ad altiora et non concessa tendere et,
quoniam consulatus quoque eripiendus invitis patribus
esset, de regno agitare: id unum dignum tanto apparatu
consiliorum et certamine, quod ingens exsudandum esset,

5 praemium fore. iam comitia consularia instabant; quae
res eum necdum compositis maturisve satis consiliis op-
pressit.

B.C. 439. *Consuls. In consequence of a report made to the senate by Minucius about the designs of Sp. Maelius, L. Quinctius is appointed dictator to deal with him.*

6 Consul sextum creatus T. Quinctius Capitolinus, mi-
nime opportunus vir novanti res; collega additur ei
7 Agrippa Menenius, cui Lanato erat cognomen. et L. Mi-
nucius praefectus annonae seu refectus seu, quoad res pos-
ceret, in incertum creatus; nihil enim constat, nisi in
libros linteos utroque anno relatum inter magistratus prae-
8 fecti nomen. hic Minucius eandem rei publicae curatio-
nem agens, quam Maelius privatim agendam susceperat,
cum in utraque domo genus idem hominum versaretur,
9 rem compertam ad senatum defert: Tela in domum Maelii
conferri eumque contiones domi habere ac non dubia regni
consilia esse. tempus agendae rei nondum stare; cetera
iam convenisse. tribunos mercede emptos ad prodendam
libertatem et partita ducibus multitudinis ministeria esse.
serius se paene, quam tutum fuerit, ne cuius incerti vani-
que auctor esset, ea deferre.

10 Quae postquam sunt audita, cum undique primores pa-
trum et prioris anni consules increparent, quod eas largi-
tiones coetusque plebis in privata domo passi essent fieri,
et novos consules, quod exspectassent, donec a praefecto
annonae tanta res ad senatum deferretur, quae consulem
11 non auctorem solum desideraret, sed etiam vindicem, tum
Quinctius consules immerito increpari ait, qui constricti
legibus de provocatione ad dissolvendum imperium latis
nequaquam tantum virium in magistratu ad eam rem pro
atrocitate vindicandam quantum animi haberent; opus esse

non forti solum viro, sed etiam libero exsolutoque legum
vinclis; itaque se dictatorem L. Quinctium dicturum; ibi 12
animum parem tantae potestati esse. adprobantibus cunctis
Quinctius primo abnuere et, quid sibi vellent, rogitare, qui
se aetate exacta tantae dimicationi obicerent. dein, cum 13
undique plus in illo senili animo non consilii modo, sed
etiam virtutis esse quam in omnibus aliis dicerent laudibus-
que haud immeritis onerarent et consul nihil remitteret,
precatus tandem deos immortales Cincinnatus, ne senectus 14
sua in tam trepidis rebus damno dedecorive rei publicae
esset, dictator ab consule dicitur. ipse deinde C. Servilium
Ahalam magistrum equitum dicit.

Maelius summoned by Servilius Ahala master of the horse to the **14**
presence of the dictator refuses to obey the summons, and is killed by Ahala on the spot.

Postero die dispositis praesidiis, cum in forum descen-
disset conversaque in eum plebs novitate rei ac miraculo
esset et Maeliani atque ipse dux eorum in se intentam vim
tanti imperii cernerent, expertes consiliorum regni, qui tu- 2
multus, quod bellum repens aut dictatoriam maiestatem aut
Quinctium post octogesimum annum rectorem rei publicae
quaesisset, rogitarent, missus ab dictatore Servilius magister 3
equitum ad Maelium 'Vocat te' inquit 'dictator.' cum pavi-
dus ille, quid vellet, quaereret Serviliusque causam dicen-
dam esse proponeret crimenque a Minucio delatum ad
senatum diluendum, tunc Maelius recipere se in catervam 4
suorum et primum circumspectans tergiversari, postremo,
cum apparitor iussu magistri equitum duceret, ereptus a cir- 5
cumstantibus fugiensque fidem plebis Romanae implorare
et opprimi se consensu patrum dicere, quod plebi benigne
fecisset; orare, ut opem sibi ultimo in discrimine ferrent,
neve ante oculos suos trucidari sinerent. haec eum vocife- 6

rantem assecutus Ahala Servilius obtruncat respersusque
cruore obtruncati, stipatus caterva patriciorum iuvenum,
dictatori renuntiat vocatum ad eum Maelium repulso appa-
ritore concitantem multitudinem poenam meritam habere.
7 tum dictator 'Macte virtute' inquit, 'C. Servili, esto ob
liberatam rem publicam.'

15 *The populace inclined at first to resent the murder are quieted by an address from the dictator, who convinces them of the presumptuously wicked designs of Maelius, and further orders his house to be pulled down and his goods confiscated. Minucius having gained popular favour by selling Maelius' corn at a very low price is presented with a 'gilded ox' and a statue erected in his honour.*

Tumultuantem deinde multitudinem incerta existima-
tione facti ad contionem vocari iussit et Maelium iure
caesum pronuntiavit, etiam si regni crimine insons fuerit,
qui vocatus a magistro equitum ad dictatorem non venisset.
2 se ad causam cognoscendam consedisse; qua cognita habi-
turum fuisse Maelium similem causae fortunam; vim paran-
3 tem, ne iudicio se committeret, vi coërcitum esse. nec cum
eo tamquam cum cive agendum fuisse, qui natus in libero
populo inter iura legesque, ex qua urbe reges exactos sciret
eodemque anno sororis filios regis et liberos consulis, libera-
toris patriae, propter pactionem indicatam recipiendorum in
4 urbem regum a patre securi esse percussos, ex qua Collati-
num Tarquinium consulem nominis odio abdicare se magis-
tratu atque exulare iussum, in qua de Sp. Cassio post
aliquot annos propter consilia inita de regno supplicium
sumptum, in qua nuper decemviros bonis, exilio, capite
multatos ob superbiam regiam, in ea Sp. Maelius spem
5 regni conceperit; et quis homo? quamquam nullam nobilita-
tem, nullos honores, nulla merita cuiquam ad dominationem
pandere viam; sed tamen Claudios, Cassios consulatibus,

decemviratibus suis maiorumque honoribus, splendore fami-
liarum sustulisse animos, quo nefas fuerit; Sp. Maelium, cui 6
tribunatus plebis magis optandus quam sperandus fuerit,
frumentarium divitem, bilibris farris sperasse libertatem se
civium suorum emisse, ciboque obiciendo ratum victorem
finitimorum omnium populum in servitutem perlici posse, ut, 7
quem senatorem concoquere civitas vix posset, regem ferret,
Romuli, conditoris ab dis orti, recepti ad deos, insignia
atque imperium habentem. non pro scelere id magis quam 8
pro monstro habendum, nec satis esse sanguine eius expia-
tum, nisi tecta parietesque, intra quae tantum amentiae con-
ceptum esset, dissiparentur bonaque contacta pretiis regni
mercandi publicarentur. iubere itaque quaestores vendere
ea bona atque in publicum redigere.

Domum deinde, ut monumento area esset oppressae **16**
nefariae spei, dirui extemplo iussit. id Aequimaelium ap-
pellatum est. L. Minucius bove aurato extra portam Trige- 2
minam est donatus ne plebe quidem invita, quia frumentum
Maelianum assibus in modios aestimatum plebi divisit.
hunc Minucium apud quosdam auctores transisse a patribus 3
ad plebem undecimumque tribunum plebis cooptatum sedi-
tionem motam ex Maeliana caede sedasse invenio. ceterum 4
vix credibile est numerum tribunorum patres augeri passos,
idque potissimum exemplum a patricio homine introductum,
nec deinde id plebem concessum semel obtinuisse aut certe
temptasse. sed ante omnia refellit falsum imaginis titulum
paucis ante annis lege cautum, ne tribunis collegam cooptare
liceret.

B.C. 438. *Consular tribunes, elected in consequence of tribunician agitations based on the murder of Maelius.*

Q. Caecilius, Q. Iunius, Sex. Titinius soli ex collegio 5
tribunorum neque tulerant de honoribus Minuci legem,
et criminari nunc Minucium nunc Servilium apud plebem

6 querique indignam necem Maeli non destiterant. pervice-
runt igitur, ut tribunorum militum potius quam consulum
comitia haberentur, haud dubii, quin sex locis—tot enim
iam creari licebat—et plebei aliqui profitendo se ultores fore
Maelianae caedis crearentur.

7 Plebs, quamquam agitata multis eo anno et variis moti-
bus erat, nec pluris quam tres tribunos consulari potestate
creavit et in his L. Quinctium, Cincinnati filium, ex cuius
8 dictaturae invidia tumultus quaerebatur. praelatus suffragiis
Quinctio Mam. Aemilius, vir summae dignitatis; L. Iulium
tertium creant.

17 *Revolt of the Fidenatians, who put to death the Roman ambassadors at the bidding, as they allege, of Tolumnius king of Veii, to whom they have revolted.*

In horum magistratu Fidenae, colonia Romana, ad Lar-
2 tem Tolumnium, Veientium regem, defecere. maius addi-
tum defectioni scelus; C. Fulcinium, Cloelium Tullum, Sp.
Nautium, L. Roscium, legatos Romanos, causam novi con-
3 silii quaerentes, iussu Tolumni interfecerunt. levant quidam
regis facinus: in tesserarum prospero iactu vocem eius am-
biguam, ut occidi iussisse videretur, a Fidenatibus exceptam
4 causam mortis legatis fuisse; rem incredibilem, interventu
Fidenatium, novorum sociorum, consulentium de caede
ruptura ius gentium, non aversum ab intentione lusus ani-
5 mum, nec deinde in errorem versum facinus. propius est
fidem obstringi Fidenatium populum, ne respicere spem
ullam ab Romanis possent, conscientia tanti sceleris vo-
6 luisse. legatorum, qui Fidenis caesi erant, statuae publice
in rostris positae sunt. cum Veientibus Fidenatibusque,
praeterquam finitumis populis, ab causa etiam tam nefanda
bellum exorsis atrox dimicatio instabat.

B.C. 437. *Consuls. One of the consuls L. Sergius Fidenas defeats Tolumnius in an engagement on the Roman side of the Anio,*

but with great loss of his own men, and a dictator Mam. Aemilius is appointed, who leads his forces across the Anio and pitches his camp at the confluence of that river with the Tiber.

Itaque ad curam summae rerum quieta plebe tribunisque 7
eius nihil controversiae fuit, quin consules crearentur, M.
Geganius Macerinus tertium et L. Sergius Fidenas; a bello
credo, quod deinde gessit, appellatum. hic enim primus cis 8
Anienem cum rege Veientium secundo proelio conflixit; nec
incruentam victoriam rettulit. maior itaque ex civibus amis-
sis dolor quam laetitia fusis hostibus fuit, et senatus, ut in
trepidis rebus, dictatorem dici Mam. Aemilium iussit. is 9
magistrum equitum ex collegio prioris anni, quo simul tri-
buni militum consulari potestate fuerant, L. Quinctium Cin-
cinnatum, dignum parente iuvenem, dixit. ad dilectum a 10
consulibus habitum centuriones veteres belli periti adiecti
et numerus amissorum proxima pugna expletus. legatos
Quinctium Capitolinum et M. Fabium Vibulanum sequi se
dictator iussit. cum potestas maior tum vir quoque potes- 11
tati par hostes ex agro Romano trans Anienem submovere,
collesque inter Fidenas atque Anienem ceperunt referentes
castra; nec ante in campos degressi sunt, quam legiones
Faliscorum auxilio venerunt. tum demum castra Etrusco- 12
rum pro moenibus Fidenarum posita. et dictator Romanus
haud procul inde ad confluentis consedit in utriusque ripis
amnis, qua sequi munimento poterat, vallo interposito.
postero die in aciem eduxit.

Divided counsels among the enemy. A battle is fought in which the Veientines are defeated, both in the field and in an attack on the Roman camp (cc. 18 § 4, 19 § 7). **18**

Inter hostes variae fuere sententiae: Faliscus, procul ab domo militiam aegre patiens satisque fidens sibi, poscere pugnam; Veienti Fidenatique plus spei in trahendo

2 bello esse. Tolumnius, quamquam suorum magis placebant
consilia, ne longinquam militiam non paterentur Falisci,
3 postero die se pugnaturum edicit. dictatori ac Romanis,
quod detractasset pugnam hostis, animi accessere; postero-
que die, iam militibus castra urbemque se oppugnaturos
frementibus, ni copia pugnae fiat, utrimque acies inter bina
4 castra in medium campi procedunt. Veiens multitudine
abundans, qui inter dimicationem castra Romana adgre-
derentur, post montes circummisit. trium populorum exer-
citus ita stetit instructus, ut dextrum cornu Veientes,
5 sinistrum Falisci tenerent, medii Fidenates essent. dictator
dextro cornu adversus Faliscos, sinistro contra Veientem
Capitolinus Quinctius intulit signa, ante mediam aciem
6 cum equitatu magister equitum processit. parumper silen-
tium et quies fuit nec Etruscis, nisi cogerentur, pugnam
inituris et dictatore arcem Romanam respectante, ut ab
auguribus, simul aves rite admisissent, ex composito tol-
7 leretur signum. quod ubi conspexit, primos equites cla-
more sublato in hostem emisit; secuta peditum acies ingenti
8 vi conflixit. nulla parte legiones Etruscae sustinuere im-
petum Romanorum; eques maxime resistebat; equitumque
longe fortissimus ipse rex ab omni parte effuse sequentibus
obequitans Romanis trahebat certamen.

19 *The exploit of A. Cornelius Cossus who kills Tolumnius and wins* spolia opima.

Erat tum inter equites tribunus militum A. Cornelius
Cossus, eximia pulchritudine corporis, animo ac viribus par
memorque generis, quod amplissimum acceptum maius auc-
2 tiusque reliquit posteris. is cum ad impetum Tolumni,
quacumque se intendisset, trepidantes Romanas videret
turmas insignemque eum regio habitu volitantem tota acie
3 cognosset, 'Hicine est' inquit 'ruptor foederis humani vio-

latorque gentium iuris? iam ego hanc mactatam victimam,
si modo sancti quicquam in terris esse di volunt, legatorum
manibus dabo.' calcaribus subditis infesta cuspide in unum 4
fertur hostem; quem cum ictum equo deiecisset, confestim
et ipse hasta innixus se in pedes excepit. adsurgentem ibi 5
regem umbone resupinat repetitumque saepius cuspide ad
terram adfixit. tum exsangui detracta spolia, caputque
abscisum victor spiculo gerens terrore caesi regis hostes
fudit. ita equitum quoque fusa acies, quae una fecerat
anceps certamen. dictator legionibus fugatis instat et ad 6
castra compulsos caedit. Fidenatium plurimi locorum notitia effugere in montes. Cossus Tiberim cum equitatu
transvectus ex agro Veientano ingentem detulit praedam
ad urbem.

Inter proelium et ad castra Romana pugnatum est ad- 7
versus partem copiarum ab Tolumnio, ut ante dictum est,
ad castra missam. Fabius Vibulanus corona primum val- 8
lum defendit; intentos deinde hostes in vallum egressus
dextra principali cum triariis repente invadit. quo pavore
iniecto caedes minor, quia pauciores erant, fuga non minus
trepida quam in acie fuit.

Triumph celebrated by the dictator, in which however Cossus is **20**
the most conspicuous personage. Question as to the position of Cossus when he dedicated the spolia opima *discussed.*

Omnibus locis re bene gesta dictator senatus consulto
iussuque populi triumphans in urbem rediit. longe maxi- 2
mum triumphi spectaculum fuit Cossus spolia opima regis
interfecti gerens. in eum milites carmina incondita, aequantes eum Romulo, canere. spolia in aede Iovis Feretrii 3
prope Romuli spolia, quae prima opima appellata sola ea
tempestate erant, cum sollemni dedicatione dono fixit;
averteratque in se a curru dictatoris civium ora et cele-

4 britatis eius diei fructum prope solus tulerat. dictator
coronam auream libram pondo ex publica pecunia populi
iussu in Capitolio Iovi donum posuit.

5 Omnis ante me auctores secutus A. Cornelium Cossum
tribunum militum secunda spolia opima Iovis Feretrii tem-
6 plo intulisse exposui; ceterum, praeterquam quod ea rite
opima spolia habentur, quae dux duci detraxit, nec ducem
novimus nisi cuius auspicio bellum geritur, titulus ipse spoliis
inscriptus illos meque arguit consulem ea Cossum cepisse.
7 hoc ego cum Augustum Caesarem, templorum omnium
conditorem aut restitutorem, ingressum aedem Feretrii
Iovis, quam vetustate dilapsam refecit, se ipsum in thorace
linteo scriptum legisse audissem, prope sacrilegium ratus
sum Cosso spoliorum suorum Caesarem, ipsius templi auc-
8 torem, subtrahere testem. quis ea in re sit error, quod
tam veteres annales quodque magistratuum libri, quos*que*
linteos in aede repositos Monetae Macer Licinius citat
identidem auctores, decimo post demum anno cum T.
Quinctio Poeno A. Cornelium Cossum consulem habeant,
9 existimatio communis omnibus est. nam etiam illud ac-
cedit, ne tam clara pugna in eum annum transferri possit,
quod imbelle triennium ferme pestilentia inopiaque frugum
circa A. Cornelium consulem fuit, adeo ut quidam annales
velut funesti nihil praeter nomina consulum suggerant.
10 tertius ab consulatu Cossi annus tribunum eum militum
consulari potestate habet, eodem anno magistrum equitum;
quo in imperio alteram insignem edidit pugnam equestrem.
11 ea libera coniectura est. sed, ut ego arbitror, vana versare
in omnes opiniones licet, cum auctor pugnae recentibus
spoliis in sacra sede positis Iovem prope ipsum, cui vota
erant, Romulumque intuens, haud spernendos falsi tituli
testes, se A. Cornelium Cossum consulem scripserit.

B.C. 436. *Consuls. Pestilence at Rome.* **21**

M. Cornelio Maluginense, L. Papirio Crasso consulibus
exercitus in agrum Veientem ac Faliscum ducti, praedae
abactae hominum pecorumque. hostis in agris nusquam 2
inventus neque pugnandi copia facta; urbes tamen non
oppugnatae, quia pestilentia populum invasit. et sedi- 3
tiones domi quaesitae sunt nec motae tamen ab Sp. Maelio
tribuno plebis, qui favore nominis moturum se aliquid ratus
et Minucio diem dixerat et rogationem de publicandis bonis
Servili Ahalae tulerat, falsis criminibus a Minucio circum- 4
ventum Maelium arguens, Servilio caedem civis indemnati
obiciens. quae vaniora ad populum ipso auctore fuere.
ceterum magis vis morbi ingravescens curae erat terroresque 5
ac prodigia, maxime quod crebris motibus terrae ruere
in agris nuntiabantur tecta. obsecratio itaque a populo
duumviris praeeuntibus est facta.

B.C. 435. *Pestilence increases in violence. The Fidenatians and Falisci advancing up to the neighbourhood of the Colline Gate a dictator Q. Servilius Priscus, or, Structus, is appointed.*

Pestilentior inde annus C. Iulio iterum et L. Verginio 6
consulibus. tantum morbus vastitatis in urbe agrisque
fecit, ut non modo praedandi causa quisquam ex agro Ro-
mano exiret bellive inferendi memoria patribus aut plebi
esset, sed ultro Fidenates, qui se primo aut montibus aut 7
muris tenuerant, populabundi descenderent in agrum Ro-
manum. deinde Veientium exercitu accito—nam Falisci 8
perpelli ad instaurandum bellum neque clade Romanorum
neque sociorum precibus potuere—duo populi transiere
Anienem atque haud procul Collina porta signa habuere.
trepidatum itaque non in agris magis quam in urbe est. 9
Iulius consul in aggere murisque explicat copias, a Vergi-

nio senatus in aede Quirini consulitur. dictatorem dici
Q. Servilium placet, cui Prisco alii, alii Structo fuisse cog-
10 nomen tradunt. Verginius, dum collegam consuleret, mo-
ratus permittente eo nocte dictatorem dixit. is sibi ma-
gistrum equitum Postumum Aebutium Helvam dicit.

22 *He defeats the forces of the enemy, and then captures Fidenae by means of a mine.*

Dictator omnes luce prima extra portam Collinam
adesse iubet. quibuscumque vires suppetebant ad arma
ferenda, praesto fuere. signa ex aerario prompta feruntur
2 ad dictatorem. quae cum agerentur, hostes in loca altiora
concessere. eo dictator agmine infesto subiit, nec procul
Nomento signis collatis fudit Etruscas legiones; compulit
3 inde in urbem Fidenas valloque circumdedit. sed neque
scalis capi poterat urbs alta et munita, neque in obsidione
vis ulla erat, quia frumentum non necessitati modo satis,
sed copiae quoque abunde ex ante convecto sufficiebat.
4 ita expugnandi pariter cogendique ad deditionem spe
amissa dictator in locis propter propinquitatem notis ab
aversa parte urbis maxime neglecta, quia suapte natura
5 tutissima erat, agere in arcem cuniculum instituit. ipse
diversissimis locis subeundo ad moenia quadrifariam diviso
exercitu, qui alii aliis succederent ad pugnam, continenti
die ac nocte proelio ab sensu operis hostes avertebat,
6 donec perfosso a castris monte erecta in arcem via est
intentisque Etruscis ad vanas a certo periculo minas clamor
supra caput hostilis captam urbem ostendit.

7 Eo anno C. Furius Pacilus et M. Geganius Macerinus
censores villam publicam in campo Martio probaverunt;
ibique primum census populi est actus.

23 B.C. 434. *Consuls (the same re-elected according to Macer, different ones according to Valerius Antias). A meeting of all Etruria*

at Volsinii having been proclaimed, a dictator is appointed at Rome.

Eosdem consules insequenti anno refectos, Iulium ter-
tium, Verginium iterum, apud Licinium Macrum invenio;
Valerius Antias et Q. Tubero M. Manlium et Q. Sulpicium 2
consules in eum annum edunt. ceterum in tam discre-
panti editione et Tubero et Macer libros linteos auctores
profitentur; neuter tribunos militum eo anno fuisse tradi-
tum ab scriptoribus antiquis dissimulat. Licinio libros 3
haud dubie sequi linteos placuit; Tubero incertus veri est.
sit inter cetera vetustate cooperta hoc quoque in incerto
positum.

Trepidatum in Etruria est post Fidenas captas, non 4
Veientibus solum exterritis metu similis excidii, sed etiam
Faliscis memoria initi primo cum iis belli, quamquam rebel-
lantibus non adfuerant. igitur cum duae civitates legatis 5
circa duodecim populos missis impetrassent, ut ad Vol-
tumnae fanum indiceretur omni Etruriae concilium, velut
magno inde tumultu imminente senatus Mam. Aemilium
dictatorem iterum dici iussit. ab eo A. Postumius Tu- 6
bertus magister equitum est dictus; bellumque tanto
maiore quam proxime conatu apparatum est, quanto
plus erat ab omni Etruria periculi, quam ab duobus populis
fuerat.

But nothing having come of the meeting, the dictator wishing to justify his appointment makes an attack on the censorship and carries a law limiting the tenure of that office to eighteen months. For this he is removed from his tribe by the censors, and assessed as aerarius *at eight times more than he had been as* tribulis. **24**

Ea res aliquanto exspectatione omnium tranquillior fuit.
itaque cum renuntiatum a mercatoribus esset, negata Veien- 2
tibus auxilia iussosque suo consilio bellum initum suis viri-
bus exsequi nec adversarum rerum quaerere socios, cum

3 quibus spem integram communicari non sirint, tum dicta-
tor, ne nequiquam creatus esset, materia quaerendae bello
gloriae adempta in pace aliquid operis edere, quod monu-
mentum esset dictaturae, cupiens, censuram minuere parat,
seu nimiam potestatem ratus, seu non tam magnitudine
honoris quam diuturnitate offensus.

4 Contione itaque advocata rem publicam foris gerendam
ait tutaque omnia praestanda deos immortalis suscepisse;
se, quod intra muros agendum esset, libertati populi Ro-
mani consulturum. maximam autem eius custodiam esse,
si magna imperia diuturna non essent et temporibus modus
5 imponeretur, quibus iuris imponi non posset. alios magis-
tratus annuos esse, quinquennalem censuram. grave esse
isdem per tot annos, magnam partem vitae, obnoxios
vivere. se legem laturum, ne plus quam annua ac semes-
6 tris censura esset. consensu ingenti populi legem postero
die pertulit, et 'ut re ipsa' inquit 'sciatis, Quirites, quam
mihi diuturna non placeant imperia, dictatura me abdico.'

7 Deposito suo magistratu, imposito fine alteri, cum gra-
tulatione ac favore ingenti populi domum est reductus.
censores aegre passi Mamercum, quod magistratum populi
Romani minuisset, tribu moverunt octiplicatoque censu
8 aerarium fecerunt. quam rem ipsum ingenti animo tulisse
ferunt causam potius ignominiae intuentem quam igno-
miniam; primores patrum, quamquam deminutum cen-
surae ius noluissent, exemplo acerbitatis censoriae offensos,
quippe cum se quisque diutius ac saepius subiectum cen-
9 soribus fore cerneret quam censuram gesturum. populi
certe tanta indignatio coorta dicitur, ut vis a censoribus
nullius auctoritate praeterquam ipsius Mamerci deterreri
quiverit.

B.C. 433. *Consular tribunes, all patricians. Pestilence at Rome.* **25**

Tribuni plebi assiduis contentionibus prohibendo con-
sularia comitia, cum res prope ad interregnum perducta
esset, evicere tandem, ut tribuni militum consulari potes-
tate crearentur. victoriae praemium quod petebatur, ut ple- 2
beius crearetur, nullum fuit; omnes patricii creati sunt,
M. Fabius Vibulanus, M. Folius, L. Sergius Fidenas. pes- 3
tilentia eo anno aliarum rerum otium praebuit. aedes
Apollini pro valetudine populi vota est. multa duumviri
ex libris placandae deum irae avertendaeque a populo
pestis causa facere. magna tamen clades in urbe agrisque 4
promiscue hominum pecorumque pernicie accepta. famem
quoque ex pestilentia, morbo implicitis cultoribus agro-
rum, timentes in Etruriam Pomptinumque agrum et Cumas,
postremo in Siciliam quoque frumenti causa misere. con-
sularium comitiorum nulla mentio habita est.

B.C. 432. *Consular tribunes. Pestilence abated. Meetings of leading plebeians are held in the houses of the tribunes of the* plebs *to protest against the action of the plebeians generally, who will not elect members of their own body to office. A law is passed forbidding candidates for office to appear in public with whitened togas.*

Tribuni militum consulari potestate omnes patricii 5
creati sunt, L. Pinarius Mamercus, L. Furius Medullinus,
Sp. Postumius Albus. eo anno vis morbi levata, neque a 6
penuria frumenti, quia ante provisum erat, periculum fuit.
consilia ad movenda bella in Volscorum Aequorumque 7
conciliis et in Etruria ad fanum Voltumnae agitata. ibi 8
prolatae in annum res decretoque cautum, ne quod ante
concilium fieret, nequiquam Veiente populo querente ean-
dem, qua Fidenae deletae sint, imminere Veis fortunam.

Interim Romae principes plebis iam diu nequiquam 9
imminentes spei maioris honoris, dum foris otium esset,

10 coetus indicere in domos tribunorum plebis. ibi secreta
consilia agitare; queri se a plebe adeo spretos, ut, cum per
tot annos tribuni militum consulari potestate creentur,
11 nulli umquam plebeio ad eum honorem aditus fuerit: mul-
tum providisse suos maiores, qui caverint, ne cui patricio
plebei magistratus paterent; aut patricios habendos fuisse
tribunos plebi; adeo se suis etiam sordere, nec a plebe
12 minus quam a patribus contemni. alii purgare plebem,
culpam in patres vertere: eorum ambitione artibusque
fieri, ut obsaeptum plebi sit ad honorem iter; si plebi
respirare ab eorum mixtis precibus minisque liceat, me-
morem eam suorum inituram suffragia esse et parto auxilio
13 imperium quoque adscituram. placet tollendae ambitionis
causa tribunos legem promulgare, ne cui album in vesti-
mentum addere petitionis causa liceret. parva nunc res et
vix serio agenda videri possit, quae tunc ingenti certamine
14 patres ac plebem accendit. vicere tamen tribuni, ut legem
perferrent; apparebatque inritatis animis plebem ad suos
studia inclinaturam. quae ne libera essent, senatus consul-
tum factum est, ut consularia comitia haberentur.

26 B.C. 431. *Consuls, elected in consequence of intended invasion by Volsci and Aequi. The consuls refusing to appoint a dictator, the senate appeal to the tribunes of the plebs to compel them to do so, which the tribunes consent to do. A. Postumius Tubertus is appointed, who makes rapid and vigorous preparations for war.*

Tumultus causa fuit, quem ab Aequis et Volscis Latini
2 atque Hernici nuntiarant. T. Quinctius, Luci filius, Cin-
cinnatus—eidem et Poeno cognomen additur—et Cn. Iulius
Mento consules facti. nec ultra terror belli est dilatus.
3 lege sacrata, quae maxima apud eos vis cogendae militiae
erat, dilectu habito utrimque validi exercitus profecti in
4 Algidum convenere, ibique seorsum Aequi seorsum Volsci
castra communivere, intentiorque quam umquam antea mu-

niendi exercendique militem cura ducibus erat. eo plus 5
nuntii terroris Romam attulere. senatui dictatorem dici
placuit, quia etsi saepe victi populi maiore tamen conatu
quam alias umquam rebellarant; et aliquantum Romanae
iuventutis morbo absumptum erat.

Ante omnia pravitas consulum discordiaque inter ipsos 6
et certamina in consiliis omnibus terrebant. sunt, qui male
pugnatum ab his consulibus in Algido auctores sint, eamque
causam dictatoris creandi fuisse. illud satis constat, ad 7
alia discordes in uno adversus patrum voluntatem con-
sensisse, ne dicerent dictatorem, donec, cum alia aliis ter-
ribiliora adferrentur nec in auctoritate senatus consules
essent, Q. Servilius Priscus summis honoribus egregie usus 8
'Vos' inquit, 'tribuni plebis, quoniam ad extrema ventum
est, senatus appellat, ut in tanto discrimine rei publicae
dictatorem dicere consules pro potestate vestra cogatis.'
qua voce audita occasionem oblatam rati tribuni augendae 9
potestatis secedunt proque collegio pronuntiant placere con-
sules senatui dicto audientes esse; si adversus consensum
amplissimi ordinis ultra tendant, in vincula se duci eos
iussuros. consules ab tribunis quam ab senatu vinci ma- 10
luerunt, proditum a patribus summi imperii ius datumque
sub iugum tribuniciae potestati consulatum memorantes,
si quidem cogi aliquid pro potestate ab tribuno consules
et—quo quid ulterius privato timendum foret?—in vincula
etiam duci possent.

Sors, ut dictatorem diceret, nam ne id quidem inter 11
collegas convenerat, T. Quinctio evenit. is A. Postumium
Tubertum, socerum suum, severissimi imperii virum, dic-
tatorem dixit. ab eo L. Iulius magister equitum est dictus. 12
dilectus simul edicitur et iustitium, neque aliud tota urbe
agi quam bellum apparari. cognitio vacantium militiae
munere post bellum differtur. ita dubii quoque inclinant

ad nomina danda. et Hernicis Latinisque milites imperati; utrimque enixe oboeditum dictatori est.

27 *He divides his forces into two armies, one posted near Tusculum under himself, the other near Lanuvium under the consul Quinctius. After several minor engagements, the enemy despairing of victory in the field make a night attack on the consul's camp. Prompt and skilful arrangements of the dictator by which*

Haec omnia celeritate ingenti acta; relictoque Cn. Iulio
consule ad praesidium urbis et L. Iulio magistro equitum
ad subita belli ministeria, ne qua res, qua eguissent in
castris, moraretur, dictator praeeunte A. Cornelio pontifice
2 maximo ludos magnos tumultus causa vovit, profectusque
ab urbe diviso cum Quinctio consule exercitu ad hostes
3 pervenit. sicut bina castra hostium parvo inter se spatio
distantia viderant, ipsi quoque mille ferme passus ab hoste,
dictator Tusculo, consul Lanuvio, propiorem locum castris
4 ceperunt. ita quattuor exercitus, totidem munimenta pla-
nitiem in medio non parvis modo excursionibus ad proelia,
sed vel ad explicandas utrimque acies satis patentem ha-
5 bebant. nec, ex quo castris castra collata sunt, cessatum
a levibus proeliis est, facile patiente dictatore conferendo
vires spem universae victoriae temptato paulatim eventu
certaminum suos praecipere.

6 Itaque hostes nulla in proelio iusto relicta spe noctu
adorti castra consulis rem in casum ancipitis eventus com-
mittunt. clamor subito ortus non consulis modo vigiles,
exercitum deinde omnem, sed dictatorem quoque ex somno
7 excivit. ubi praesenti ope res egebant, consul nec animo
defecit nec consilio; pars militum portarum stationes firmant,
8 pars corona vallum cingunt. in alteris apud dictatorem
castris quo minus tumultus est, eo plus animadvertitur,
quid opus facto sit. missum extemplo ad castra subsidium,

cui Sp. Postumius Albus legatus praeficitur; ipse parte
copiarum parvo circuitu locum maxime secretum ab tumultu
petit, unde ex necopinato aversum hostem invadat. Q. 9
Sulpicium legatum praeficit castris; M. Fabio legato ad-
signat equites nec ante lucem movere iubet manum inter
nocturnos tumultus moderatu difficilem. omnia, quae vel
alius imperator prudens et impiger in tali re praeciperet
ageretque, praecipit ordine atque agit; illud eximium consilii 10
animique specimen et neutiquam vulgatae laudis, quod
ultro ad oppugnanda castra hostium, unde maiore agmine
profectos exploratum fuerat, M. Geganium cum cohortibus
delectis misit. qui postquam intentos homines in eventum 11
periculi alieni, pro se incautos neglectis vigiliis stationibus-
que est adortus, prius paene cepit castra, quam oppugnari
hostes satis scirent. inde fumo, ut convenerat, datum sig- 12
num ubi conspectum ab dictatore est, exclamat capta
hostium castra, nuntiarique passim iubet.

the enemy are surrounded and on the point of being annihilated, when Vettius a Volscian rallies them and after some hard fighting **28**

Et iam luciscebat omniaque sub oculis erant. et Fabius
cum equitatu impetum dederat, et consul eruptionem e
castris in trepidos iam hostes fecerat; dictator autem, parte 2
altera subsidia et secundam aciem adortus, circumagenti
se ad dissonos clamores ac subitos tumultus hosti undique
obiecerat victorem peditem equitemque. circumventi igitur 3
iam in medio ad unum omnes poenas rebellionis dedissent,
ni Vettius Messius ex Volscis, nobilior vir factis quam
genere, iam orbem volventes suos increpans clara voce
'Hic praebituri' inquit 'vos telis hostium estis indefensi, 4
inulti? quid igitur arma habetis, aut quid ultro bellum intu-
listis, in otio tumultuosi, in bello segnes? quid hic stantibus
spei est? an deum aliquem protecturum vos rapturumque

5 hinc putatis? ferro via facienda est. hac, qua me prae-
gressum videritis, agite, qui visuri domos, parentes, con-
iuges, liberos estis, ite mecum. non murus nec vallum,
sed armati armatis obstant. virtute pares, necessitate, quae
6 ultimum ac maximum telum est, superiores estis.' haec
locutum exsequentemque dicta redintegrato clamore secuti
dant impressionem, qua Postumius Albus cohortes ob-
iecerat; et moverunt victorem, donec dictator pedem iam
referentibus suis advenit eoque omne proelium versum est.
7 uni viro, Messio, fortuna hostium innititur. multa utrimque
vulnera, multa passim caedes est. iam ne duces quidem
8 Romani incruenti pugnant. unus Postumius ictus saxo
perfracto capite acie excessit; non dictatorem umerus vul-
neratus, non Fabium prope affixum equo femur, non brac-
chium abscisum consulem ex tam ancipiti proelio summovit.

29 *cuts his way at the head of a gallant band through the enemy to the Volscian camp, which is now attacked by the combined forces of the dictator and consul, and captured. The dictator is said in this campaign to have executed his son for disobedience to orders. Livy shows reason for disbelieving the story. First interference, according to Livy, of the Carthaginians in the affairs of Sicily.*

Messium impetus per stratos caede hostes cum globo
fortissimorum iuvenum extulit ad castra Volscorum, quae
2 nondum capta erant. eodem omnis acies inclinatur. consul
effusos usque ad vallum persecutus ipsa castra vallumque
adgreditur. eodem et dictator alia parte copias admovet.
3 non segnior oppugnatio est, quam pugna fuerat. consulem
signum quoque intra vallum iniecisse ferunt, quo milites
acrius subirent, repetendoque signo primam impressionem
factam. et dictator proruto vallo iam in castra proelium
4 intulerat. tum abici passim arma ac dedi hostes coepti;
castrisque et his captis hostes praeter senatores omnes ve-

numdati sunt. praedae pars sua cognoscentibus Latinis
atque Hernicis reddita, partem sub hasta dictator vendidit;
praepositoque consule castris ipse triumphans invectus
urbem dictatura se abdicavit.

Egregiae dictaturae tristem memoriam faciunt, qui filium 5
ab A. Postumio, quod occasione bene pugnandi captus
iniussu decesserit praesidio, victorem securi percussum tra-
dunt. nec libet credere et licet in variis opinionibus; et 6
argumento est, quod imperia Manliana, non Postumiana
appellata sunt, cum, qui prior auctor tam saevi exempli
foret, occupaturus insignem titulum crudelitatis fuerit. Im-
perioso quoque Manlio cognomen inditum; Postumius nulla
tristi nota est insignitus.

Cn. Iulius consul aedem Apollinis absente collega sine 7
sorte dedicavit. aegre id passus Quinctius, cum dimisso
exercitu in urbem redisset, nequiquam in senatu est con-
questus.

Insigni magnis rebus anno additur nihil tum ad rem 8
Romanam pertinere visum, quod Carthaginienses, tanti hos-
tes futuri, tum primum per seditiones Siculorum ad partis
alterius auxilium in Siciliam exercitum traiecere.

B.C. 430. *Consuls, elected in spite of agitation on the part of the tribunes of the plebs. Eight years' truce with the Aequi. Peace abroad. Law passed about the assessment of fines.* **30**

Agitatum in urbe ab tribunis plebis, ut tribuni militum
consulari potestate crearentur; nec obtineri potuit. consules
fiunt L. Papirius Crassus, L. Iulius. Aequorum legati foe-
dus ab senatu cum petissent et pro foedere deditio ostenta-
retur, indutias annorum octo impetraverunt. Volscorum 2
res super acceptam in Algido cladem pertinaci certamine
inter pacis bellique auctores in iurgia et seditiones versa.
undique otium fuit Romanis. legem de multarum aestima- 3

tione pergratam populo cum ab tribunis parari consules unius ex collegio proditione excepissent, ipsi praeoccupaverunt ferre.

B.C. 429. *Consuls. Nothing of importance recorded.* B.C. 428. *Great drought followed by pestilence affecting both cattle and human beings. Superstitious fears engendered by the pestilence lead to introduction of innumerable religious nostrums, mostly foreign, until it is found necessary to empower the aediles to forbid any form of worship other than Roman.*

4 Consules L. Sergius Fidenas iterum, Hostus Lucretius
Tricipitinus. nihil dignum dictu actum his consulibus.
secuti eos consules A. Cornelius Cossus, T. Quinctius Poe-
nus iterum. Veientes in agrum Romanum excursiones
5 fecerunt. fama fuit quosdam ex Fidenatium iuventute par-
ticipes eius populationis fuisse, cognitioque eius rei L.
6 Sergio et Q. Servilio et Mam. Aemilio permissa. quidam
Ostiam relegati, quod, cur per eos dies a Fidenis afuissent,
parum constabat. colonorum additus numerus, agerque iis
7 bello interemptorum adsignatus. siccitate eo anno plurimum
laboratum est, nec caelestes modo defuerunt aquae, sed
terra quoque ingenito umore egens vix ad perennes suffecit
8 amnes. defectus alibi aquarum circa torridos fontes rivos-
que stragem siti pecorum morientium dedit; scabie alia
absumpta, vulgatique contactu in homines morbi. et primo
in agrestes ingruerant servitiaque; urbs deinde impletur.
9 nec corpora modo adfecta tabo, sed animos quoque multi-
plex religio et pleraque externa invasit, novos ritus sacrifi-
candi vaticinando inferentibus in domos, quibus quaestui
10 sunt capti superstitione animi, donec publicus iam pudor
ad primores civitatis pervenit cernentes in omnibus vicis
sacellisque peregrina atque insolita piacula pacis deum ex-
11 poscendae. datum inde negotium aedilibus, ut animadver-

terent, ne qui nisi Romani di neu quo alio more quam patrio colerentur.

B.C. 427. *War declared against the Veientines in consequence of a raid made by them in the previous year.*

Irae adversus Veientes in insequentem annum, C. Ser- 12
vilium Ahalam, L. Papirium Mugilanum consules, dilatae
sunt. tunc quoque, ne confestim bellum indiceretur neve 13
exercitus mitterentur, religio obstitit; fetiales prius mittendos
ad res repetendas censuere. cum Veientibus nuper acie 14
dimicatum ad Nomentum et Fidenas fuerat; indutiaeque
inde, non pax facta, quarum et dies exierat, et ante diem
rebellaverant. missi tamen fetiales; nec eorum, cum more
patrum iurati repeterent res, verba sunt audita. controver- 15
sia inde fuit, utrum populi iussu indiceretur bellum, an
satis esset senatus consultum. pervicere tribuni denuntiando
impedituros se dilectum, ut Quinctius consul de bello ad
populum ferret. omnes centuriae iussere. in eo quoque 16
plebs superior fuit, quod tenuit, ne consules in proximum
annum crearentur.

B.C. 426. *Consular tribunes, four in number. These undertake the campaign against Veii, and owing to want of concert are badly defeated. A dictator is appointed. The Veientines crossing the Tiber and making Fidenae the centre of their operations cause great alarm in Rome.* **31**

Tribuni militum consulari potestate quattuor creati sunt,
T. Quinctius Poenus ex consulatu, C. Furius, M. Postumius,
A. Cornelius Cossus. ex his Cossus praefuit urbi; tres 2
dilectu habito profecti sunt Veios documentoque fuere,
quam plurium imperium bello inutile esset. tendendo ad
sua quisque consilia, cum aliud alii videretur, aperuerunt ad
occasionem locum hosti. incertam namque aciem, signum 3

aliis dari, receptui aliis cani iubentibus, invasere opportune
Veientes. castra propinqua turbatos ac terga dantes acce-
pere; plus itaque ignominiae quam cladis est acceptum.

4 Maesta civitas fuit vinci insueta; odisse tribunos, pos-
cere dictatorem; in eo verti spes civitatis. et cum ibi quo-
que religio obstaret, ne non posset nisi ab consule dici dic-
5 tator, augures consulti eam religionem exemere. A. Corne-
lius dictatorem Mam. Aemilium dixit, et ipse ab eo magister
equitum est dictus; adeo, simul fortuna civitatis virtute vera
eguit, nihil censoria animadversio effecit, quo minus regimen
6 rerum ex notata indigne domo peteretur. Veientes, re
secunda elati, missis circum Etruriae populos legatis iactando
tres duces Romanos ab se uno proelio fusos, cum tamen
nullam publici consilii societatem movissent, voluntarios
7 undique ad spem praedae adsciverunt. uni Fidenatium
populo rebellare placuit; et tamquam nisi ab scelere bellum
ordiri nefas esset, sicut legatorum antea, ita tum novorum
colonorum caede imbutis armis Veientibus sese coniungunt.
8 consultare inde principes duorum populorum, Veios an
Fidenas sedem belli caperent. Fidenae visae opportuniores;
itaque traiecto Tiberi Veientes Fidenas transtulerunt bel-
lum.

The dictator having delivered an encouraging address to the people marches out with his troops and engages with the enemy near Fidenae.

9 Romae terror ingens erat. accito exercitu a Veiis eoque
ipso ab re male gesta perculso castra locantur ante portam
Collinam, et in muris armati dispositi, et iustitium in foro
tabernaeque clausae, fiuntque omnia castris quam urbi simi-
32 liora, cum trepidam civitatem praeconibus per vicos dimissis
2 dictator ad contionem advocatam increpuit, quod animos ex
tam levibus momentis fortunae suspensos gererent, ut parva

iactura accepta, quae ipsa non virtute hostium nec ignavia
Romani exercitus, sed discordia imperatorum accepta sit,
Veientem hostem totiens victum pertimescant Fidenasque
prope saepius captas quam oppugnatas: eosdem et Roma- 3
nos et hostes esse, qui per tot saecula fuerint, eosdem
animos, easdem corporis vires, eadem arma gerere: se quo-
que eundem dictatorem Mam. Aemilium esse, qui antea
Veientium Fidenatiumque adiunctis Faliscis ad Nomen-
tum exercitus fuderit, et magistrum equitum A. Corne- 4
lium eundem in acie fore, qui priore bello tribunus militum
Larte Tolumnio, rege Veientium, in conspectu duorum
exercituum occiso spolia opima Iovis Feretrii templo
intulerit. proinde memores, secum triumphos, secum spolia, 5
secum victoriam esse, cum hostibus scelus legatorum contra
ius gentium interfectorum, caedem in pace Fidenatium
colonorum, indutias ruptas, septimam infelicem defectio-
nem, arma caperent. simul castra castris coniunxissent, 6
satis confidere, nec sceleratissimis hostibus diuturnum ex
ignominia exercitus Romani gaudium fore, et populum Ro- 7
manum intellecturum, quanto melius de re publica meriti
sint, qui se dictatorem tertium dixerint, quam qui ob erep-
tum censurae regnum labem secundae dictaturae suae im-
posuerint.

Votis deinde nuncupatis profectus mille et quingentos 8
passus citra Fidenas castra locat, dextra montibus, laeva
Tiberi amne saeptus. T. Quinctium Poenum legatum oc- 9
cupare montes iubet occultumque id iugum capere, quod ab
tergo hostibus foret. ipse postero die, cum Etrusci pleni 10
animorum ab pristini diei meliore occasione quam pugna in
aciem processissent, cunctatus parumper, dum speculatores
referrent Quinctium evasisse in iugum propinquum arci
Fidenarum, signa profert peditumque aciem instructam
pleno gradu in hostem inducit. magistro equitum praecipit, 11

ne iniussu pugnam incipiat: se, cum opus sit equestri auxilio,
signum daturum; tum ut memor regiae pugnae, memor
12 opimi doni Romulique ac Iovis Feretrii rem gereret. legio-
nes impetu ingenti confligunt. Romanus odio accensus
impium Fidenatem, praedonem Veientem, ruptores indutia-
rum, cruentos legatorum infanda caede, respersos sanguine
colonorum suorum, perfidos socios, imbelles hostes compel-
lans, factis simul dictisque odium explet.

33 *A charge of Fidenatians, who issue from the gate of the town armed with firebrands, terrifies the Romans at first. But rallied by the dictator they renew the fight which is decided against the Veientines by a violent charge of Roman cavalry with horses unbridled, aided by an attack by the* legatus (cf. c. 32 § 8) *on the rear of the enemy.*

Concusserat primo statim congressu hostem, cum re-
pente patefactis Fidenarum portis nova erumpit acies inau-
2 dita ante id tempus invisitataque; ignibus armata ingens
multitudo facibusque ardentibus tota collucens velut fana-
tico instincta cursu in hostem ruit, formaque insolitae
3 pugnae Romanos parumper exterruit. tum dictator ma-
gistro equitum equitibusque, tum ex montibus Quinctio
accito proelium ciens ipse in sinistrum cornu, quod, incen-
4 dio similius quam proelio, territum cesserat flammis, accur-
rit, claraque voce 'Fumone victi' inquit 'velut examen
apium loco vestro exacti inermi cedetis hosti? non ferro
exstinguetis ignes? non faces has ipsas pro se quisque, si
igni, non telis pugnandum est, ereptas ultro inferetis?
5 agite, nominis Romani ac virtutis patrum vestraeque me-
mores vertite incendium hoc in hostium urbem et suis
flammis delete Fidenas, quas vestris beneficiis placare non
potuistis. legatorum hoc vos vestrorum colonorumque
6 sanguis vastatique fines monent.' ad imperium dictatoris

mota cuncta acies. faces partim emissae excipiuntur, par-
tim vi eripiuntur; utraque acies armatur igni. magister 7
equitum et ipse novat pugnam equestrem. frenos ut detra-
hant equis, imperat, et ipse princeps calcaribus subditis
evectus effreno equo in medios ignes infertur, et alii conci-
tati equi libero cursu ferunt equitem in hostem. pulvis 8
elatus mixtusque fumo lucem ex oculis virorum equorum-
que aufert. ea, quae militem terruerat, species nihil terruit
equos. ruinae igitur similem stragem eques, quacumque
pervaserat, dedit. clamor deinde accidit novus; qui cum 9
utramque mirabundam in se aciem vertisset, dictator ex-
clamat Quinctium legatum et suos ab tergo hostem adortos;
ipse redintegrato clamore infert acrius signa. cum duae 10
acies, duo diversa proelia circumventos Etruscos et a fronte
et ab tergo urguerent, neque in castra retro neque in mon-
tes, unde se novus hostis obiecerat, iter fugae esset, et equi-
tem passim liberis frenis distulissent equi, Veientium
maxima pars Tiberim effusi petunt, Fidenatium qui super-
sunt ad urbem Fidenas tendunt. infert pavidos fuga in 11
mediam caedem; obtruncantur in ripis; alios in aquam com-
pulsos gurgites ferunt; etiam peritos nandi lassitudo et vul-
nera et pavor degravant; pauci ex multis tranant. alterum
agmen fertur per castra in urbem. eodem et Romanos 12
sequentes impetus rapit, Quinctium maxime et cum eo de-
gressos modo de montibus, recentissimum ad laborem mi-
litem, quia ultimo proelio advenerat.

The Fidenatians flying to Fidenae are followed closely by the Romans who enter the town behind them and capture it. **34**

Hi postquam mixti hostibus portam intravere, in muros
evadunt suisque capti oppidi signum ex muro tollunt.
quod ubi dictator conspexit—iam enim et ipse in deserta 2
hostium castra penetraverat—, cupientem militem discur-

rere ad praedam spe iniecta maioris in urbe praedae ad
portam ducit, receptusque intra muros in arcem, quo ruere
3 fugientium turbam videbat, pergit. nec minor caedes in
urbe quam in proelio fuit, donec abiectis armis nihil praeter
vitam petentes dictatori deduntur. urbs castraque diripi-
4 untur. postero die singulis captivis ab equite ac centuri-
one sorte ductis et, quorum eximia virtus fuerat, binis, aliis
sub corona venumdatis, exercitum victorem opulentumque
5 praeda triumphans dictator Romam reduxit, iussoque ma-
gistro equitum abdicare se magistratu ipse deinde abdicavit
die sexto decimo reddito in pace imperio, quod in bello
trepidisque rebus acceperat.

6 Classi quoque ad Fidenas pugnatum cum Veientibus
quidam in annales rettulere, rem aeque difficilem atque
incredibilem, nec nunc lato satis ad hoc amne et tum ali-
7 quanto, ut a veteribus accepimus, artiore, nisi in traiectu
forte fluminis prohibendo aliquarum navium concursum in
maius, ut fit, celebrantes navalis victoriae vanum titulum
appetivere.

35 B.C. 425. *Consular tribunes. Truce granted to the Veientines for twenty years, and to the Aequi for three.*

Insequens annus tribunos militares consulari potestate
habuit, A. Sempronium Atratinum, L. Quinctium Cincin-
natum, L. Furium Medullinum, L. Horatium Barbatum.
2 Veientibus annorum viginti indutiae datae et Aequis trien-
nii, cum plurium annorum petissent. et ab seditionibus
urbanis otium fuit.

B.C. 424. *Consular tribunes. Agitations by the tribunes reproaching the plebs for not asserting the political rights so hardly won for them and for ingratitude to their leaders.*

Annum insequentem, neque bello foris neque domi
seditione insignem, ludi bello voti celebrem et tribunorum

militum apparatu et finitimorum concursu fecere. tribuni 4
consulari potestate erant *Ap.* Claudius Crassus, Sp. Nau-
tius Rutilus, L. Sergius Fidenas, Sex. Iulius Iulus. specta-
culum comitate etiam hospitum, ad quam publice consen-
serant, advenis gratius fuit. post ludos contiones seditio- 5
sae tribunorum plebi fuerunt obiurgantium multitudinem,
quod admiratione eorum, quos odisset, stupens in aeterno 6
se ipsa teneret servitio et non modo ad spem consulatus in
partem revocandam aspirare non auderet, sed ne in tribunis
quidem militum creandis, quae communia essent comitia
patrum ac plebis, aut sui aut suorum meminisset: desineret 7
ergo mirari, cur nemo de commodis plebis ageret: eo im-
pendi laborem ac periculum, unde emolumentum atque
honos speretur. nihil non adgressuros homines, si magna
conatis magna praemia proponantur. ut quidem aliquis 8
tribunus plebis ruat caecus in certamina periculo ingenti,
fructu nullo, ex quibus pro certo habeat patres, adversus
quos tetenderit, bello inexpiabili se persecuturos, apud
plebem, pro qua dimicaverit, nihilo se honoratiorem fore,
neque sperandum neque postulandum esse. magnos ani- 9
mos magnis honoribus fieri. neminem se plebeium con-
tempturum, ubi contemni desissent. experiundam rem
denique in uno aut altero esse, sitne aliqui plebeius ferendo
magno honori, an portento simile miraculoque sit fortem
ac strenuum virum aliquem exsistere ortum ex plebe. sum- 10
ma vi expugnatum esse, ut tribuni militum consulari potestate
et ex plebe crearentur. petisse viros domi militiaeque spec-
tatos; primis annis suggillatos, repulsos risui patribus fuisse;
desisse postremo praebere ad contumeliam os. nec se 11
videre, cur non lex quoque abrogetur, qua id liceat, quod
numquam futurum sit; minorem quippe ruborem fore in
iuris iniquitate, quam si per indignitatem ipsorum prae-
tereantur.

36 *Several plebeians, encouraged by the reception given to these speeches, propose to stand for the consular tribunate. But the existing consular tribunes by a ruse procure the election of consuls for the next year.*

Huius generis orationes cum adsensu auditae incitavere
quosdam ad petendum tribunatum militum, alium alia de
commodis plebis laturum se in magistratu profitentem.
2 agri publici dividendi coloniarumque deducendarum osten-
tatae spes et vectigali possessoribus agrorum imposito in
3 stipendium militum erogandi aeris. captatum deinde tem-
pus ab tribunis militum, quo per discessum hominum ab
urbe, cum patres clandestina denuntiatione revocati ad
diem certam essent, senatus consultum fieret absentibus
4 tribunis plebi, ut, quoniam Volscos in Hernicorum agros
praedatum exisse fama esset, ad rem aspiciendam tribuni
militum proficiscerentur consulariaque comitia haberentur.
5 profecti Ap. Claudium, decemviri filium, praefectum urbis
relinquunt, impigrum iuvenem et iam inde ab incunabulis
imbutum odio tribunorum plebisque. tribuni plebi nec
cum absentibus iis, qui senatus consultum fecerant, nec
cum Appio, transacta re, quod contenderent, fuit.

37 B.C. 423. *Consuls. War with the Volscians. Negligence of the consul Sempronius and bad discipline of his troops. Engaging with the enemy he is being worsted when*

Creati consules sunt C. Sempronius Atratinus, Q. Fa-
bius Vibulanus.—Peregrina res, sed memoria digna traditur
eo anno facta, Vulturnum Etruscorum urbem, quae nunc
Capua est, ab Samnitibus captam Capuamque ab duce
eorum Capye vel, quod propius vero est, a campestri agro
2 appellatam. cepere autem, prius bello fatigatis Etruscis, in
societatem urbis agrorumque accepti, deinde festo die

graves somno epulisque incolas veteres novi coloni nocturna caede adorti.

His rebus actis consules ii, quos diximus, Idibus De- 3
cembribus magistratum occepere. iam non solum, qui ad 4
id missi erant, rettulerant imminere Volscum bellum, sed
legati quoque ab Latinis et Hernicis nuntiabant non ante
umquam Volscos nec ducibus legendis nec exercitui scri-
bendo intentiores fuisse; vulgo fremere aut in perpetuum 5
arma bellumque oblivioni danda iugumque accipiendum
aut iis, cum quibus de imperio certetur, nec virtute nec
patientia nec disciplina rei militaris cedendum esse. haud 6
vana attulere; sed nec perinde patres moti sunt, et C.
Sempronius, cui ea provincia sorti evenit, tamquam con-
stantissimae rei fortunae fretus, quod victoris populi adver-
sus victos dux esset, omnia temere ac neglegenter egit,
adeo ut disciplinae Romanae plus in Volsco exercitu quam 7
in Romano esset. ergo fortuna, ut saepe alias, virtutem
est secuta. primo proelio, quod ab Sempronio incaute 8
inconsulteque commissum est, non subsidiis firmata acie,
non equite apte locato concursum est. clamor indicium 9
primum fuit, quo res inclinatura esset, excitatior crebriorque
ab hoste sublatus; ab Romanis dissonus, impar, segnius
saepe iteratus incerto clamore prodidit pavorem animo-
rum. eo ferocior inlatus hostis urgere scutis, micare gla- 10
diis. altera ex parte nutant circumspectantibus galeae,
et incerti trepidant applicantque se turbae; signa nunc 11
resistentia deseruntur ab antesignanis, nunc inter suos
manipulos recipiuntur. nondum fuga certa, nondum vic-
toria erat. tegi magis Romanus quam pugnare; Volscus
inferre signa, urgere aciem, plus caedis hostium videre
quam fugae.

38 *Sex. Tempanius*, decurio equitum, *calling on the cavalry to dismount and follow him alters the aspect of the fight.*

Iam omnibus locis ceditur nequiquam Sempronio con-
2 sule obiurgante atque hortante. nihil nec imperium nec
maiestas valebat; dataque mox terga hostibus forent, ni
Sex. Tempanius, decurio equitum, labante iam re praesenti
animo subvenisset. qui cum magna voce exclamasset, ut
3 equites, qui salvam rem publicam vellent esse, ex equis
desilirent, omnium turmarum equitibus velut ad consulis
imperium motis 'Nisi haec' inquit 'parmata cohors sistit
impetum hostium, actum de imperio est. sequimini pro
vexillo cuspidem meam; ostendite Romanis Volscisque
neque equitibus vobis ullos equites nec peditibus esse pe-
4 dites pares.' cum clamore comprobata adhortatio esset,
vadit alte cuspidem gerens. quacumque incedunt, vi viam
faciunt; eo se inferunt obiectis parmis, ubi suorum plurimum
5 laborem vident. restituitur omnibus locis pugna, in quae
eos impetus tulit; nec dubium erat, quin, si tam pauci simul
obire omnia possent, terga daturi hostes fuerint.

39 *By the tactics of the enemy Tempanius and his troop are separated from the Romans, and occupy a hill. Sempronius maintains the fight, which ends at nightfall indecisively. Both armies believing themselves conquered abandon their camps in the night. But Tempanius at daybreak revisits the Roman camp and taking with him what wounded men he can proceeds to Rome.*

Et cum iam parte nulla sustinerentur, dat signum Vol-
scus imperator, ut parmatis, novae cohorti hostium, locus
2 detur, donec impetu inlati ab suis excludantur. quod ubi
est factum, interclusi equites nec perrumpere eadem, qua
transierant, posse, ibi maxime confertis hostibus, qua viam
3 fecerant, et consul legionesque Romanae, cum, quod tegu-
men modo omnis exercitus fuerat, nusquam viderent, ne tot

fortissimos viros interclusos opprimeret hostis, tendunt in
quemcumque casum. diversi Volsci hinc consulem ac legiones 4
sustinere, altera fronte instare Tempanio atque equitibus;
qui cum saepe conati nequissent perrumpere ad suos, tumulo
quodam occupato in orbem se tutabantur, nequaquam inulti;
nec pugnae finis ante noctem fuit. consul quoque nusquam 5
remisso certamine, dum quicquam superfuit lucis, hostem
tenuit. nox incertos diremit; tantusque ab imprudentia 6
eventus utraque castra tenuit pavor, ut relictis sauciis et
magna parte impedimentorum ambo pro victis exercitus se
in montes proximos reciperent. tumulus tamen circumses-
sus ultra mediam noctem est. quo cum circumsedentibus 7
nuntiatum esset castra deserta esse, victos rati suos et ipsi,
qua quemque in tenebris pavor tulit, fugerunt. Tempanius 8
metu insidiarum suos ad lucem tenuit. degressus deinde
ipse cum paucis speculatum, cum ab sauciis hostibus scisci-
tando comperisset castra Volscorum deserta esse, laetus ab
tumulo suos devocat et in castra Romana penetrat. ubi 9
cum vasta desertaque omnia atque eandem, quam apud
hostes, foeditatem invenisset, priusquam Volscos cognitus
error reduceret, quibus poterat sauciis ductis secum, ignarus,
quam regionem consul petisset, ad urbem proximis itineri-
bus pergit.

The city terrified by news of the defeat is reassured by the appearance of Tempanius and the cavalry. The tribunes of the plebs hold an indignation meeting, at which Tempanius is interrogated as to the conduct of the consul. **40**

Iam eo fama pugnae adversae castrorumque desertorum
perlata erat, et ante omnia deplorati erant equites non pri-
vato magis quam publico luctu, Fabiusque consul terrore 2
urbi quoque iniecto stationem ante portas agebat, cum
equites procul visi non sine terrore ab dubiis, quinam essent,

mox cogniti tantam ex metu laetitiam fecere, ut clamor
urbem pervaderet gratulantium salvos victoresque redisse
3 equites, et ex maestis paulo ante domibus, quae conclama-
verant suos, procurreretur in vias, pavidaeque matres ac
coniuges, oblitae prae gaudio decoris, obviam agmini occur-
rerent, in suos quaeque, simul corpore atque animo vix prae
gaudio compotes, effusae.

4 Tribunis plebi, qui M. Postumio et T. Quinctio diem
dixerant, quod ad Veios eorum opera male pugnatum esset,
occasio visa est per recens odium Sempronii consulis reno-
5 vandae in eos invidiae. itaque advocata contione cum pro-
ditam Veis rem publicam esse ab ducibus, proditum deinde,
quia illis impune fuerit, in Volscis ab consule exercitum,
6 traditos ad caedem fortissimos equites, deserta foede castra
vociferati essent, C. Iunius, unus ex tribunis, Tempanium
equitem vocari iussit coramque ei 'Sex. Tempani' inquit,
'quaero de te, arbitrerisne C. Sempronium consulem aut in
tempore pugnam inisse aut firmasse subsidiis aciem aut ullo
7 boni consulis functum officio, et tune ipse victis legionibus
Romanis tuo consilio equitem ad pedes deduxeris restitue-
risque pugnam; excluso deinde ab acie nostra tibi atque
equitibus num aut consul ipse subvenerit aut miserit praesi-
8 dium; postero denique die ecquid praesidii usquam habue-
ris, an tu cohorsque in castra vestra virtute perruperitis;
ecquem in castris consulem, ecquem exercitum inveneritis,
9 an deserta castra, relictos saucios milites. haec pro virtute
tua fideque, qua una hoc bello res publica stetit, dicenda tibi
sunt hodie; denique ubi C. Sempronius, ubi legiones nostrae
sint, desertus sis an deserueris consulem exercitumque, victi
denique simus an vicerimus.'

41 *He replies modestly, making out the best case for Sempronius. M. Postumius and T. Quinctius are tried for misconduct of the*

Veientine war (c. 31). *The former is condemned and fined, the latter acquitted.*

Adversus haec Tempani oratio incompta fuisse dicitur,
ceterum militariter gravis, non suis vana laudibus, non
crimine alieno laeta: quanta prudentia rei bellicae in C. 2
Sempronio esset, non militis de imperatore existimationem
esse, sed populi Romani fuisse, cum eum comitiis consulem
legeret. itaque ne ab se imperatoria consilia neu consulares 3
artes exquirerent, quae pensitanda quoque magnis animis
atque ingeniis essent. sed quod viderit, referre posse.
vidisse autem se, priusquam ab acie intercluderetur, consu- 4
lem in prima acie pugnantem, adhortantem, inter signa
Romana telaque hostium versantem. postea se a conspectu 5
suorum ablatum ex strepitu tamen et clamore sensisse usque
ad noctem extractum certamen, nec ad tumulum, quem ipse
tenuerat, prae multitudine hostium credere perrumpi po-
tuisse. exercitus ubi esset, se nescire; arbitrari, velut ipse 6
in re trepida loci praesidio se suosque sit tutatus, sic con-
sulem servandi exercitus causa loca tutiora castris cepisse.
nec Volscorum meliores res esse credere quam populi Ro- 7
mani; fortunam noctemque omnia erroris mutui implesse.
precantemque deinde, ne se fessum labore ac vulneribus
tenerent, cum ingenti laude non virtutis magis quam mode-
rationis dimittunt.

Cum haec agerentur, iam consul via Labicana ad fanum 8
Quietis erat. eo missa plaustra iumentaque alia ab urbe
exercitum adfectum proelio ac via nocturna excepere. paulo 9
post in urbem est ingressus consul, non ab se magis enixe
amovens culpam quam Tempanium meritis laudibus ferens.

Maestae civitati ab re male gesta et iratae ducibus M. 10
Postumius reus obiectus, qui tribunus militum pro consule
ad Veios fuerat, decem milibus aeris gravis damnatur. T. 11
Quinctium, collegam eius, quia et in Volscis consul auspicio

dictatoris Postumi Tuberti et ad Fidenas legatus dictatoris alterius Mam. Aemili res prospere gesserat, totam culpam eius temporis in praedamnatum collegam transferentem
12 omnes tribus absolverunt. profuisse ei Cincinnati patris memoria dicitur, venerabilis viri, et exactae iam aetatis Capitolinus Quinctius, suppliciter orans, ne se brevi reliquo vitae spatio tam tristem nuntium ferre ad Cincinnatum paterentur.

42 B.C. 422. *Consular tribunes. The consul Sempronius is impeached by the tribune of the plebs Hortensius. But four officers of the consul, whom the plebs had elected tribunes of the plebs in their absence, pleading for him and declaring that if the impeachment is proceeded with, they will go into mourning with him, Hortensius gives way.*

Plebs tribunos plebi absentes Sex. Tempanium, M. Asellium, Ti. Antistium, Ti. Spurilium fecit, quos et pro centurionibus sibi praefecerant Tempanio auctore equites.
2 senatus, cum odio Semproni consulare nomen offenderet, tribunos militum consulari potestate creari iussit. creati sunt L. Manlius Capitolinus, Q. Antonius Merenda, L. Papirius Mugilanus.

3 Principio statim anni L. Hortensius tribunus plebis C. Sempronio, consuli anni prioris, diem dixit. quem cum quattuor collegae inspectante populo Romano orarent, ne imperatorem suum innoxium, in quo nihil praeter fortunam
4 reprehendi posset, vexaret, aegre Hortensius pati, temptationem eam credens esse perseverantiae suae nec precibus tribunorum, quae in speciem modo iactarentur, sed auxilio
5 confidere reum. itaque modo ad eum conversus, ubi illi patricii spiritus, ubi subnixus et fidens innocentiae animus esset, quaerebat—sub tribunicia umbra consularem virum
6 delituisse—, modo ad collegas: 'Vos autem, si reum perago,

quid acturi estis? an erepturi ius populo et eversuri tribuni-
ciam potestatem?' cum illi et de Sempronio et de omnibus 7
summam populi Romani potestatem esse dicerent nec se
iudicium populi tollere aut velle aut posse, sed, si preces
suae pro imperatore, qui sibi parentis esset loco, non valuis-
sent, se vestem cum eo mutaturos, tum Hortensius 'Non 8
videbit' inquit 'plebs Romana sordidatos tribunos suos. C.
Sempronium nihil moror, quando hoc est in imperio conse-
cutus, ut tam carus esset militibus.' nec pietas quattuor 9
tribunorum quam Hortensi tam placabile ad iustas preces
ingenium pariter plebi patribusque gratius fuit.

Non diutius fortuna Aequis indulsit, qui ambiguam 10
victoriam Volscorum pro sua amplexi fuerant.

B.C. 421. *Consuls. War with the Aequi who are defeated by* 43
*the consul Fabius. Dissensions between the two orders arising
out of a proposal to double the number of the quaestors, and consequent* interregnum *during a considerable part of the ensuing year.
At last by the influence of L. Papirius Mugilanus*, interrex,

Proximo anno, Num. Fabio Vibulano, T. Quinctio Ca-
pitolini filio Capitolino consulibus, ductu Fabi, cui sorte ea
provincia evenerat, nihil dignum memoratu actum. cum 2
trepidam tantum ostendissent aciem Aequi, turpi fuga fun-
duntur haud magno consulis decore. itaque triumphus
negatus, ceterum ob Sempronianae cladis levatam ignomi-
niam, ut ovans urbem intraret, concessum est.

Quemadmodum bellum minore, quam timuerant, dimi- 3
catione erat perfectum, sic in urbe ex tranquillo necopinata
moles discordiarum inter plebem ac patres exorta est,
coepta ab duplicando quaestorum numero. quam rem— 4
praeter duos urbanos quaestores duo *ut* consulibus ad mini-
steria belli praesto essent—a consulibus relatam cum et
patres summa ope adprobassent, tribuni plebi certamen

intulerunt, ut pars quaestorum—nam ad id tempus patricii
5 creati erant—ex plebe fieret. adversus quam actionem
primo et consules et patres summa ope adnisi sunt; conce-
dendo deinde, ut, quemadmodum in tribunis consulari po-
testate creandis ius adaequassent, ita in quaestoribus liberum
esset arbitrium populi, cum parum proficerent, totam rem
6 de augendo quaestorum numero omittunt. excipiunt omis-
sam tribuni, aliaeque subinde, inter quas et agrariae legis,
seditiosae actiones exsistunt; propter quos motus cum sena-
tus consules quam tribunos creari mallet neque posset per
7 intercessiones tribunicias senatus consultum fieri, res publica
a consulibus ad interregnum, neque id ipsum—nam coire
patricios tribuni prohibebant—sine certamine ingenti, rediit.

8 Cum pars maior insequentis anni per novos tribunos
plebi et aliquot interreges certaminibus extracta esset, modo
prohibentibus tribunis patricios coire ad prodendum in-
terregem, modo interregem interpellantibus, ne senatus
9 consultum de comitiis consularibus faceret, postremo L.
Papirius Mugilanus proditus interrex, castigando nunc pa-
tres nunc tribunos plebi, desertam omissamque ab homi-
nibus rem publicam deorum providentia curaque exceptam
memorabat Veientibus indutiis et cunctatione Aequorum
10 stare. unde si quid increpet terroris, sine patricio magistratu
placere rem publicam opprimi? non exercitum, non ducem
scribendo exercitui esse? an bello intestino bellum exter-
11 num propulsaturos? quae si in unum conveniant, vix
deorum opibus, quin obruatur Romana res, resisti posse.
quin illi remittendo de summa quisque iuris, mediis copu-
12 larent concordiam, patres patiendo tribunos militum pro
consulibus fieri, tribuni plebi non intercedendo, quo minus
quattuor quaestores promiscue de plebe ac patribus libero
suffragio populi fierent.

B.C. 420, *consular tribunes are elected, all patricians. The election of quaestors in which the claims of the plebeians are ignored causes violent indignation, and by way of revenge C. Sempronius, uncle of A. Sempronius who presided at the election of quaestors, is impeached for misconduct in the Volscian war* (cf. c. 42), *condemned and fined. Postumia a vestal virgin is tried and acquitted. Cumae is taken by the Campanians* (*Samnites of Capua*). **44**

Tribunicia primum comitia sunt habita. creati tribuni
consulari potestate omnes patricii, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus
tertium, Sex. Furius Medullinus iterum, M. Manlius, A.
Sempronius Atratinus. hoc tribuno comitia quaestorum 2
habente petentibusque inter aliquot plebeios filio *A.* Antisti
tribuni plebis et fratre alterius tribuni plebis, Sex. Pompili,
nec potestas nec suffragatio horum valuit, quin, quorum
patres avosque consules viderant, eos nobilitate praeferrent.
furere omnes tribuni plebi, ante omnes Pompilius Antis- 3
tiusque repulsa suorum accensi: quidnam id rei esse? non 4
suis beneficiis, non patrum iniuriis, non denique usurpandi
libidine, cum liceat, quod ante non licuerit, si non tribunum
militarem, ne quaestorem quidem quemquam ex plebe
factum. non valuisse patris pro filio, fratris pro fratre 5
preces, tribunorum plebis, potestatis sacrosanctae ad auxilium libertatis creatae; fraudem profecto in re esse, et A.
Sempronium comitiis plus artis adhibuisse quam fidei. eius
iniuria queri suos honore deiectos.

Itaque cum in ipsum et innocentia tutum et magistratu, 6
in quo tunc erat, impetus fieri non posset, flexere iras in C.
Sempronium, patruelem Atratini, eique ob ignominiam Volsci belli adiutore collega M. Canuleio diem dixere. subinde 7
ab iisdem tribunis mentio in senatu de agris dividendis
inlata est, cui actioni semper acerrime C. Sempronius restiterat, ratis, id quod erat, aut deposita causa leviorem futurum apud patres reum, aut perseverantem sub iudicii

8 tempus plebem offensurum. adversae invidiae obici maluit
9 et suae nocere causae quam publicae deesse; stetitque in
eadem sententia, ne qua largitio, cessura in trium gratiam
tribunorum, fieret; nec tum agrum plebi, sed sibi invidiam
quaeri; se quoque subiturum eam tempestatem forti animo;
nec senatui tanti se civem aut quemquam alium debere
10 esse, ut in parcendo uni malum publicum fiat. nihilo de-
missiore animo, cum dies venit, causa ipse pro se dicta,
nequiquam omnia expertis patribus, ut mitigarent plebem,
quindecim milibus aeris damnatur.

11 Eodem anno Postumia virgo Vestalis de incestu causam
dixit, crimine innoxia, ab suspicione propter cultum amoe-
niorem ingeniumque liberius, quam virginem decet, parum
12 abhorrens. eam ampliatam, deinde absolutam pro collegii
sententia pontifex maximus abstinere iocis colique sancte
potius quam scite iussit.

Eodem anno a Campanis Cumae, quam Graeci tum urbem tenebant, capiuntur.

B.C. 419. *Consular tribunes. Conspiracy of slaves to fire the city discovered. War with Aequi.*

13 Insequens annus tribunos militum consulari potestate habuit Agrippam Menenium Lanatum, P. Lucretium Tricipitinum, Sp. Nautium Rutilum.

45 Annus felicitate populi Romani periculo potius ingenti
quam clade insignis. servitia, urbem ut incenderent di-
stantibus locis, coniurarunt, populoque ad opem passim fe-
rendam tectis intento ut arcem Capitoliumque armati occu-
2 parent. avertit nefanda consilia Iuppiter, indicioque duo-
rum comprehensi sontes poenas dederunt. indicibus dena
milia gravis aeris, quae tum divitiae habebantur, ex aerario
numerata et libertas praemium fuit.

3 Bellum inde ab Aequis reparari coeptum; et novos

hostes Labicanos consilia cum veteribus iungere haud in-
certis auctoribus Romam est allatum. Aequorum iam velut 4
anniversariis armis adsueverat civitas; Labicos legati missi
cum responsa inde rettulissent dubia, quibus nec tum bellum
parari nec diuturnam pacem fore appareret, Tusculanis ne-
gotium datum, adverterent animos, ne quid novi tumultus
Labicis oreretur.

B.C. 418. *Consular tribunes. War declared against the Labicani.*

Ad insequentis anni tribunos militum consulari potestate 5
inito magistratu legati ab Tusculo venerunt, L. Sergium
Fidenatem, M. Papirium Mugilanum, C. Servilium Prisci
filium, quo dictatore Fidenae captae fuerant. nuntiabant 6
legati Labicanos arma cepisse et cum Aequorum exercitu
depopulatos agrum Tusculanum castra in Algido posuisse.
tum Labicanis bellum indictum; factoque senatus consulto, 7
ut duo ex tribunis ad bellum proficiscerentur, unus res
Romae curaret, certamen subito inter tribunos exortum;
se quisque belli ducem potiorem ferre, curam urbis ut
ingratam ignobilemque aspernari. cum parum decorum 8
inter collegas certamen mirabundi patres conspicerent, Q.
Servilius 'Quando nec ordinis huius ulla' inquit 'nec rei
publicae est verecundia, patria maiestas altercationem istam
dirimet; filius meus extra sortem urbi praeerit. bellum
utinam, qui adpetunt, consideratius concordiusque, quam
cupiunt, gerant.'

Quarrels between the two consular tribunes appointed to conduct the war. Q. Servilius Priscus, foreseeing calamity, urges his son, one of the consular tribunes, to make war preparations. The tribunes are defeated, and Servilius appointed dictator, **46**

Dilectum haberi non ex toto passim populo placuit;
decem tribus sorte ductae sunt. ex iis scriptos iuniores

2 duo tribuni ad bellum duxere. coepta inter eos in urbe
certamina cupiditate eadem imperii multo impensius in
castris accendi; nihil sentire idem, pro sententia pugnare;
3 sua consilia velle, sua imperia sola rata esse; contemnere
in vicem et contemni, donec castigantibus legatis tandem
ita comparatum est, ut alternis diebus summam imperii
4 haberent. quae cum allata Romam essent, dicitur Q. Ser-
vilius, aetate et usu doctus, precatus ab dis immortalibus,
ne discordia tribunorum damnosior rei publicae esset, quam
ad Veios fuisset, et velut haud dubia clade imminente in-
5 stitisse filio, ut milites scriberet et arma pararet. nec falsus
vates fuit. nam ductu L. Sergi, cuius dies imperii erat,
loco iniquo sub hostium castris, cum, quia simulato metu
receperat se hostis ad vallum, spes vana expugnandi castra
eo traxisset, repentino impetu Aequorum per supinam vallem
fusi sunt, multique in ruina maiore quam fuga oppressi
6 obtruncatique; castraque, eo die aegre retenta, postero die
circumfusis iam magna ex parte hostibus per aversam por-
tam fuga turpi deseruntur. duces legatique et quod circa
7 signa roboris de exercitu fuit Tusculum petiere; palati alii
per agros passim multis itineribus maioris, quam accepta
8 erat, cladis nuntii Romam contenderunt. minus trepida-
tionis fuit, quod eventus timori hominum congruens fuerat,
et quod subsidia, quae respicerent in re trepida, praeparata
9 erant ab tribuno militum. iussuque eiusdem per minores
magistratus sedato in urbe tumultu speculatores propere
missi nuntiavere Tusculi duces exercitumque esse, hostem
10 castra loco non movisse. et, quod plurimum animorum
fecit, dictator ex senatus consulto dictus Q. Servilius Priscus,
vir, cuius providentiam in re publica cum multis aliis tem-
pestatibus ante experta civitas erat tum eventu eius belli,
quod uni certamen tribunorum suspectum ante rem male
11 gestam fuerat. magistro equitum creato, a quo ipse tribuno

militum dictator erat dictus, filio suo—ut tradidere quidam;
nam alii Ahalam Servilium magistrum equitum eo anno
fuisse scribunt—novo exercitu profectus ad bellum, accitis, 12
qui Tusculi erant, duo milia passuum ab hoste locum
castris cepit.

gains a signal victory over the enemy, and captures Labicum. **47**

Transierat ex re bene gesta superbia neglegentiaque ad
Aequos, quae in Romanis ducibus fuerat. itaque primo 2
statim proelio cum dictator equitatu immisso antesignanos
hostium turbasset, legionum inde signa inferri propere
iussit, signiferumque ex suis unum cunctantem occidit.
tantus ardor ad dimicandum fuit, ut impetum Aequi non 3
tulerint, victique acie cum fuga effusa petissent castra, bre-
vior tempore et certamine minor castrorum oppugnatio fuit,
quam proelium fuerat. captis direptisque castris, cum 4
praedam dictator militi concessisset secutique fugientem
ex castris hostem equites renuntiassent omnes Labicanos
victos, magnam partem Aequorum Labicos confugisse, pos- 5
tero die ad Labicos ductus exercitus, oppidumque corona
circumdata scalis captum ac direptum est. dictator exer- 6
citu victore Romam reducto die octavo, quam creatus erat,
magistratu se abdicavit; et opportune senatus, priusquam
ab tribunis plebi agrariae seditiones mentione inlata de
agro Labicano dividendo fierent, censuit frequens coloniam
Labicos deducendam. coloni ab urbe mille et quingenti
missi bina iugera acceperunt.

B.C. 417, 416. *Consular tribunes. Peace abroad.*

Captis Labicis ac deinde tribunis militum consulari 7
potestate Agrippa Menenio Lanato et C. Servilio Structo
et P. Lucretio Tricipitino, iterum omnibus his, et Sp. Ru-
tilio Crasso, et insequente anno A. Sempronio Atratino 8

tertium et duobus iterum, M. Papirio Mugilano et Sp. Nautio Rutilo, biennium tranquillae externae res, discordia domi ex agrariis legibus fuit.

48 *Dissensions at home. An agrarian proposal to distribute all captured land to all the citizens, which would be ruin to the patricians, is advertised. The patricians at their wits' end adopt the advice of Ap. Claudius, grandson of the decemvir, and by personal canvassing and flattering speeches induce six of the tribunes of the plebs to veto the bill.*

Turbatores vulgi erant Sp. Maecilius quartum et *M.*
2 Metilius tertium tribuni plebis, ambo absentes creati, ei
cum rogationem promulgassent, ut ager ex hostibus captus
viritim divideretur, magnaeque partis nobilium eo plebiscito
3 publicarentur fortunae—nec enim ferme quicquam agri, ut
in urbe alieno solo posita, non armis partum erat, nec quod
venisset adsignatumve publice esset praeterquam plebs
4 habebat—, atrox plebi patribusque propositum videbatur
certamen. nec tribuni militum nunc in senatu, nunc in
consiliis privatis principum cogendis viam consilii invenie-
5 bant, cum Ap. Claudius, nepos eius, qui decemvir legibus
6 scribendis fuerat, minimus natu ex patrum concilio, dicitur
dixisse vetus se ac familiare consilium domo adferre: pro-
avum enim suum Ap. Claudium ostendisse patribus viam
unam dissolvendae tribuniciae potestatis per collegarum
7 intercessionem. facile homines novos auctoritate princi-
pum de sententia deduci, si temporum interdum potius
8 quam maiestatis memor adhibeatur oratio. pro fortuna
illis animos esse; ubi videant collegas principes agendae
rei gratiam omnem ad plebem praeoccupasse nec locum in
9 ea relictum sibi, haud gravate acclinaturos se ad causam
senatus, per quam *cum* universo ordini tum primoribus se
10 patrum concilient. adprobantibus cunctis et ante omnes

Q. Servilio Prisco, quod non degenerasset ab stirpe
Claudia, collaudante iuvenem, negotium datur, ut quos
quisque posset ex collegio tribunorum ad intercessionem
perlicerent. misso senatu prensantur ab principibus tri-
buni. suadendo, monendo pollicendoque, gratum id 11
singulis privatim, gratum universo senatui fore, sex ad in-
tercessionem comparavere. posteroque die cum ex com- 12
posito relatum ad senatum esset de seditione, quam Mae-
cilius Metiliusque largitione pessimi exempli concirent, eae 13
orationes a primoribus patrum habitae sunt, ut pro se
quisque iam nec consilium sibi suppetere diceret nec se
ullam opem cernere aliam usquam praeterquam in tribuni-
cio auxilio: in eius potestatis fidem circumventam rem
publicam tamquam privatum inopem confugere. prae- 14
clarum ipsis potestatique esse non ad vexandum senatum
discordiamque ordinum movendam plus in tribunatu virium
esse quam ad resistendum improbis collegis. fremitus de- 15
inde universi senatus ortus, cum ex omnibus partibus
curiae tribuni appellarentur. tum silentio facto ii, qui
praeparati erant gratia principum, quam rogationem a col-
legis promulgatam senatus censeat dissolvendae rei publicae
esse, ei se intercessuros ostendunt. gratiae intercessoribus
ab senatu actae. latores rogationis contione advocata pro- 16
ditores plebis commodorum ac servos consularium appel-
lantes aliaque truci oratione in collegas invecti actionem
deposuere.

B.C. 415. *Consular tribunes. Bolae, a town belonging to the Aequi, taken.* **49**

Duo bella insequens annus habuisset, quo P. Cornelius
Cossus, C. Valerius Potitus, Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus,
Num. Fabius Vibulanus tribuni militum consulari potestate
fuerunt, ni Veiens bellum religio principum distulisset, quo- 2

rum agros Tiberis super ripas effusus maxime ruinis villa-
3 rum vastavit. simul Aequos triennio ante accepta clades
prohibuit Bolanis, suae gentis populo, praesidium ferre.
4 excursiones inde in confinem agrum Labicanum factae
5 erant novisque colonis bellum inlatum. quam noxam cum
se consensu omnium Aequorum defensuros sperassent,
deserti ab suis ne memorabili quidem bello per obsidionem
levemque unam pugnam et oppidum et fines amisere.
6 temptatum ab L. Decio tribuno plebis, ut rogationem ferret,
qua Bolas quoque, sicut Labicos, coloni mitterentur, per
intercessionem collegarum, qui nullum plebiscitum nisi
ex auctoritate senatus passuros se perferri ostenderunt,
discussum est.

B.C. 414. *Consular tribunes. Bolae, recovered by the Aequi, is recaptured by the consular tribune M. Postumius Regillensis. He angers his soldiers by breaking his promise about the spoil. Some hasty words artfully drawn from him by the tribune of the plebs, M. Sextius, at Rome, and conveyed to the camp increase the irritation there,*

7 Bolis insequente anno receptis Aequi coloniaque eo
deducta novis viribus oppidum firmarunt, tribunis militum
Romae consulari potestate Cn. Cornelio Cosso, L. Valerio
Potito, Q. Fabio Vibulano iterum, M. Postumio Regillensi.
8 huic bellum adversus Aequos permissum est, pravae mentis
homini, quam tamen victoria magis quam bellum ostendit.
9 nam exercitu impigre scripto ductoque ad Bolas, cum levi-
bus proeliis Aequorum animos fregisset, postremo in oppi-
dum inrupit; deinde ab hostibus in civis certamen vertit et,
cum inter oppugnationem praedam militis fore edixisset,
10 capto oppido fidem mutavit. eam magis adducor ut cre-
dam irae causam exercitui fuisse, quam quod in urbe nuper
direpta coloniaque nova minus praedicatione tribuni prae-

dae fuerit. auxit eam iram, postquam ab collegis arcessi- 11
tus propter seditiones tribunicias in urbem revertit, audita
vox eius in contione stolida ac prope vecors, qua M. Sextio
tribuno plebis legem agrariam ferenti, simul, Bolas quoque
ut mitterentur coloni, laturum se dicenti—dignum enim
esse, qui armis cepissent, eorum urbem agrumque Bolanum
esse—'Malum quidem militibus meis' inquit, 'nisi quieve-
rint.' quod auditum non contionem magis quam mox
patres offendit. et tribunus plebis, vir acer nec infacundus, 12
nactus inter adversarios superbum ingenium immodicam-
que linguam, quam irritando agitandoque in eas impelleret
voces, quae invidiae non ipsi tantum, sed causae atque
universo ordini essent, neminem ex collegio tribunorum
militum saepius quam Postumium in disceptationem trahe-
bat. tum vero secundum tam saevum atque inhumanum 13
dictum 'Auditis' inquit, 'Quirites, sicut servis malum mi- 14
nantem militibus? tamen haec belua dignior vobis tanto
honore videbitur, quam qui vos urbe agrisque donatos in
colonias mittunt, qui sedem senectuti vestrae prospiciunt,
qui pro vestris commodis adversus tam crudeles superbos-
que adversarios depugnant. incipite deinde mirari, cur 15
pauci iam vestram suscipiant causam. quid ut a vobis
sperent? an honores, quos adversariis vestris potius quam 16
populi Romani propugnatoribus datis? ingemuistis modo
voce huius audita. quid id refert? iam si suffragium detur,
hunc, qui malum vobis minatur, iis, qui agros sedesque ac
fortunas stabilire volunt, praeferetis.'

and on his return thither, attempting by harsh punishments to quell the mutinous spirit, he is stoned to death by the soldiers. **50**

Perlata haec vox Postumi ad milites multo in castris
maiorem indignationem movit: praedaene interceptorem
fraudatoremque etiam malum minari militibus? itaque cum 2

fremitus aperte esset, et quaestor P. Sestius eadem violentia
coërceri putaret seditionem posse, qua mota erat, misso ad
vociferantem quendam militem lictore, cum inde clamor et
3 iurgium oreretur, saxo ictus turba excedit insuper increpante,
qui vulneraverat, habere quaestorem, quod imperator esset
4 militibus minatus. ad hunc tumultum accitus Postumius
asperiora omnia fecit acerbis quaestionibus, crudelibus sup-
pliciis. postremo, cum modum irae nullum faceret, ad
vociferationem eorum, quos necari sub crate iusserat, con-
cursu facto ipse ad interpellantes poenam vecors de tribunali
5 decurrit. ibi cum submoventes passim lictores centuriones-
que vexarent turbam, eo indignatio erupit, ut tribunus mili-
6 tum ab exercitu suo lapidibus cooperiretur. quod tam
atrox facinus postquam est Romam nuntiatum, tribunis
militum de morte collegae per senatum quaestiones decer-
nentibus tribuni plebis intercedebant.

B.C. 413. *In consequence of disputes between the tribunes of the plebs and the senate, arising out of the murder of Postumius, an* interrex *is appointed, and*

7 sed ea contentio ex certamine alio pendebat, quod
cura incesserat patres, ne metu quaestionum plebs iraque
tribunos militum ex plebe crearet, tendebantque summa
8 ope, ut consules crearentur. cum senatus consultum fieri
tribuni plebis non paterentur, iidem intercederent consula-
ribus comitiis, res ad interregnum rediit. victoria deinde
penes patres fuit.

51 *consuls are elected. The prosecution of those concerned in the murder of Postumius is entrusted to the consuls, who perform the task with great moderation and good sense, but not without causing considerable irritation among the plebs. Ferentinum, a town of the Volsci, taken and given to the Hernici.*

Q. Fabio Vibulano interrege comitia habente consules
2 creati sunt A. Cornelius Cossus, *L.* Furius Medullinus. his

consulibus principio anni senatus consultum factum est, ut
de quaestione Postumianae caedis tribuni primo quoque
tempore ad plebem ferrent plebesque praeficeret quaestioni,
quem vellet. a plebe consensu [populi] consulibus nego- 3
tium mandatur; qui summa moderatione ac lenitate per
paucorum supplicium, quos sibimet ipsos conscisse mortem
satis creditum est, transacta re, nequivere tamen consequi,
ut non aegerrime id plebs ferret: iacere tam diu irritas 4
actiones, quae de suis commodis ferrentur, cum interim de
sanguine ac supplicio suo latam legem confestim exerceri et
tantam vim habere. aptissimum ad tempus fuerat vindicatis 5
seditionibus delenimentum animis Bolani agri divisionem
obici; quo facto minuissent desiderium agrariae legis, quae
possesso per iniuriam agro publico patres pellebat. tunc 6
haec ipsa indignitas angebat animos: non in retinendis modo
publicis agris, quos iam teneret, pertinacem nobilitatem esse,
sed ne vacuum quidem agrum nuper ex hostibus captum
plebi dividere, mox paucis, ut cetera, futurum praedae.

Eodem anno adversus Volscos populantes Hernicorum 7
fines legiones ductae a Furio consule. cum hostem ibi non
invenissent, Ferentinum, quo magna multitudo Volscorum
se contulerat, cepere. minus praedae, quam speraverant, 8
fuit, quod Volsci, postquam spes tuendi exigua erat, sublatis
rebus nocte oppidum reliquerunt. postero die prope deser-
tum capitur. Hernicis ipsum agerque dono datus.

B.C. 412. *Consuls. Pestilence at Rome.* **52**

Annum modestia tribunorum quietum excepit tribunus
plebis L. Icilius Q. Fabio Ambusto, C. Furio Pacilo consu-
libus. is cum principio statim anni, velut pensum nominis 2
familiaeque, seditiones agrariis legibus promulgandis cieret, 3
pestilentia coorta, minacior tamen quam perniciosior, cogi-

tationes hominum a foro certaminibusque publicis ad domum curamque corporum nutriendorum avertit; minusque eam damnosam fuisse, quam seditio futura fuerit, credunt.

B.C. 411. *Consuls. Dearth, resulting from the pestilence, which is relieved by corn procured from abroad.*

4 Defuncta civitate plurimorum morbis, perpaucis funeri-
bus, pestilentem annum inopia frugum neglecto cultu agro-
rum, ut plerumque fit, excepit M. Papirio Atratino, C.
5 Nautio Rutilo consulibus. iam fames quam pestilentia
tristior erat, ni dimissis circa omnes populos legatis, qui
Etruscum mare quique Tiberim accolunt, ad frumentum
6 mercandum annonae foret subventum. superbe ab Samni-
tibus, qui Capuam habebant Cumasque, legati prohibiti
commercio sunt, contra ea benigne ab Siculorum tyrannis
adiuti; maximos commeatus summo Etruriae studio Tiberis
7 devexit. solitudinem in civitate aegra experti consules sunt,
cum in legationes non plus singulis senatoribus invenientes
8 coacti sunt binos equites adicere. praeterquam ab morbo
annonaque nihil eo biennio intestini externive incommodi
fuit. at ubi eae sollicitudines discessere, omnia, quibus tur-
bari solita erat civitas, domi discordia, foris bellum exortum.

53 B.C. 410. *Consuls. War with Volsci and Aequi. While M. Menenius, tribune of the plebs, is interfering with the levy, Carventum, a Latin town, is taken by the enemy. By the interposition of the other tribunes, the consul C. Valerius Potitus is enabled to complete the levy, and Carventum is recaptured.*

M'. Aemilio, C. Valerio Potito consulibus bellum Aequi
parabant, Volscis quamquam non publico consilio capessen-
2 tibus arma, voluntariis mercede secutis militiam. ad quo-
rum famam hostium—iam enim in Latinum Hernicumque
transcenderant agrum—dilectum habentem Valerium consu-

lem M. Menenius tribunus plebis, legis agrariae lator, cum
impediret auxilioque tribuni nemo invitus sacramento dice-
ret, repente nuntiatur arcem Carventanam ab hostibus occu- 3
patam esse. ea ignominia accepta cum apud patres invidiae 4
Menenio fuit, tum ceteris tribunis, iam ante praeparatis
intercessoribus legis agrariae, praebuit iustiorem causam
resistendi collegae. itaque cum res diu ducta per alterca- 5
tionem esset, consulibus deos hominesque testantibus, quid-
quid ab hostibus cladis ignominiaeque aut iam acceptum
esset aut immineret, culpam penes Menenium fore, qui 6
dilectum impediret, Menenio contra vociferante, si iniusti
domini possessione agri publici cederent, se moram dilectui
non facere, decreto interposito novem tribuni sustulerunt
certamen, pronuntiaveruntque ex collegii sententia C. Vale- 7
rio consuli se, damnum aliamque coërcitionem adversus
intercessionem collegae dilectus causa detractantibus mili-
tiam inhibenti, auxilio futuros esse. hoc decreto consul 8
armatus cum paucis appellantibus tribunum collum torsisset,
metu ceteri sacramento dixere.

Ductus exercitus ad Carventanam arcem, quamquam 9
invisus infestusque consuli erat, impigre primo statim ad-
ventu deiectis, qui in praesidio erant, arcem recipit; prae-
datores ex praesidio per neglegentiam dilapsi occasionem
aperuere ad invadendum. praedae ex assiduis populationi- 10
bus, quod omnia in locum tutum congesta erant, fuit aliquan-
tum. venditum sub hasta consul in aerarium redigere
quaestores iussit, tum praedicans participem praedae fore
exercitum, cum militiam non abnuisset. auctae inde plebis
ac militum in consulem irae. itaque cum ex senatus con- 11
sulto urbem ovans introiret, alternis inconditi versus militari
licentia iactati, quibus consul increpitus, Meneni celebre 12
nomen laudibus fuit, cum ad omnem mentionem tribuni
favor circumstantis populi plausuque et adsensu cum vocibus

13 militum certaret. plusque ea res quam prope sollemnis
militum lascivia in consulem curae patribus iniecit; et tam-
quam haud dubius inter tribunos militum honos Meneni, si
peteret, consularibus comitiis est exclusus.

54 B.C. 409. *Consuls. Plebeians for the first time elected to the quaestorship. Triumph of the plebs and indignation of the patricians.*

Creati consules sunt Cn. Cornelius Cossus, L. Furius
2 Medullinus iterum. non alias aegrius plebs tulit tribunicia
comitia sibi non commissa. eum dolorem quaestoriis co-
mitiis simul ostendit et ulta est tunc primum plebeis quaes-
3 toribus creatis, ita ut in quattuor creandis uni patricio, K.
Fabio Ambusto, relinqueretur locus, tres plebei, Q. Silius,
P. Aelius, P. Pupius, clarissimarum familiarum iuvenibus
4 praeferrentur. auctores fuisse tam liberi populo suffragii
Icilios accipio, ex familia infestissima patribus tres in eum
annum tribunos plebis creatos multarum magnarumque
5 rerum molem avidissimo ad ea populo ostentantes, cum
adfirmassent nihil se moturos, si ne in quaestoriis quidem
comitiis, quae sola promiscua plebei patribusque reliquisset
senatus, satis animi populo esset ad id, quod tam diu vellet
6 et per leges liceret. pro ingenti itaque victoria id fuit
plebi, quaesturamque eam non honoris ipsius fine aesti-
mabant, sed patefactus ad consulatum ac triumphos locus
7 novis hominibus videbatur. patres contra non pro com-
municatis, sed pro amissis honoribus fremere; negare, si
ea ita sint, liberos tollendos esse, qui, pulsi maiorum loco
cernentesque alios in possessione dignitatis suae, salii fla-
minesque nusquam alio quam ad sacrificandum pro populo
8 sine imperiis ac potestatibus relinquantur. irritatis utrius-
que partis animis, cum et spiritus plebs sumpsisset et tres
ad popularem causam celeberrimi nominis haberet duces,

patres omnia quaestoriis comitiis, ubi utrumque plebi liceret,
similia fore cernentes tendere ad consulum comitia, quae
nondum promiscua essent; Icilii contra tribunos militum 9
creandos dicere et tandem aliquando impertiendos plebi
honores.

The tribunes of the plebs take advantage of the recapture of Carventum by the Aequi and the necessity for a levy, to extort from the senate a decree that consular tribunes shall be elected for the next year. Verrugo is captured by the Volsci (cf. c. I) *but retaken. Attempts to recapture Carventum fail.* **55**

Sed nulla erat consularis actio, quam impediendo id,
quod petebant, exprimerent, cum mira opportunitate Vol-
scos et Aequos praedatum extra fines exisse in agrum La-
tinum Hernicumque adfertur. ad quod bellum ubi ex 2
senatus consulto consules dilectum habere occipiunt, ob-
stare tunc enixe tribuni, sibi plebique eam fortunam oblatam
memorantes. tres erant et omnes acerrimi viri generosique 3
iam, ut inter plebeios. duo singuli singulos sibi consules
adservandos assidua opera desumunt; uni contionibus data
nunc detinenda, nunc concienda plebs. nec dilectum con- 4
sules, nec comitia, quae petebant, tribuni expediebant. in-
clinante deinde se fortuna ad causam plebis nuntii veniunt
arcem Carventanam dilapsis ad praedam militibus, qui in
praesidio erant, Aequos interfectis paucis custodibus arcis
invasisse; alios recurrentis ad arcem, alios palantis in agris
caesos. ea adversa civitatis res vires tribuniciae actioni 5
adiecit. nequiquam enim temptati, ut tum denique desis-
terent impediendo bello, postquam non cessere nec publi-
cae tempestati nec suae invidiae, pervincunt, ut senatus
consultum fiat de tribunis militum creandis, certo tamen 6
pacto, ne cuius ratio haberetur, qui eo anno tribunus plebis
esset, neve quis reficeretur in annum tribunus plebis, haud 7

dubie Icilios denotante senatu, quos mercedem seditiosi
tribunatus petere consulatum insimulabant. tum dilectus
haberi bellumque omnium ordinum consensu apparari
8 coeptum. consules ambo profecti sint ad arcem Carven-
tanam, an alter ad comitia habenda substiterit, incertum
diversi auctores faciunt; illa pro certo habenda, in quibus
non dissentiunt, ab arce Carventana, cum diu nequiquam
oppugnata esset, recessum, Verruginem in Volscis eodem
exercitu receptam, populationesque et praedas et in Aequis
et in Volsco agro ingentes factas.

56 B.C. 408. *Consular tribunes. War with the Volsci, Aequi, and Antiates. The senate desiring to appoint a dictator are violently opposed by the two first consular tribunes.*

Romae sicut plebis victoria fuit in eo, ut, quae mallent,
comitia haberent, ita eventu comitiorum patres vicere;
2 namque tribuni militum consulari potestate contra spem
omnium tres patricii creati sunt, C. Iulius Iulus, P. Cor-
3 nelius Cossus, C. Servilius Ahala. artem adhibitam ferunt
a patriciis, cuius eos Icilii tum quoque insimulabant, quod
turbam indignorum candidatorum intermiscendo dignis, tae-
dio sordium in quibusdam insignium populum a plebeis
avertissent.

4 Volscos deinde et Aequos, seu Carventana arx retenta
in spem seu Verrugine amissum praesidium ad iram cum
impulisset, fama adfertur summa vi ad bellum coortos;
5 caput rerum Antiates esse; eorum legatos utriusque gentis
populos circumisse castigantes ignaviam, quod abditi intra
muros populabundos in agris vagari Romanos priore anno
6 et opprimi Verruginis praesidium passi essent: iam non
exercitus modo armatos, sed colonias etiam in suos fines
mitti; nec ipsos modo Romanos sua divisa habere, sed
7 Ferentinum etiam de se captum Hernicis donasse. ad haec

cum inflammarentur animi, ut ad quosque ventum erat, numerus iuniorum conscribebatur. ita omnium populorum iuventus Antium contracta; ibi castris positis hostem opperiebantur.

Quae ubi tumultu maiore etiam, quam res erat, nuntian- 8
tur Romam, senatus extemplo, quod in rebus trepidis ulti
mum consilium erat, dictatorem dici iussit. quam rem 9
aegre passos Iulium Corneliumque ferunt magnoque cer-
tamine animorum rem actam, cum primores patrum, ne- 10
quiquam conquesti non esse in auctoritate senatus tribunos
militum, postremo etiam tribunos plebi appellarent et con- 11
sulibus quoque ab ea potestate vim super tali re inhibitam
referrent, tribuni plebi laeti discordia patrum nihil esse in
se iis auxilii dicerent, quibus non civium, non denique
hominum numero essent: si quando promiscui honores, 12
communicata res publica esset, tum se animadversuros, ne
qua superbia magistratuum inrita senatus consulta essent;
interim patricii soluti legum magistratuumque vi atque ve- 13
recundia per se potestatemque tribuniciam agerent.

At last Servilius Ahala, third consular tribune, apologising to his colleagues for the action they have forced upon him, nominates a dictator. **57**

Haec contentio minime idoneo tempore, cum tantum
belli in manibus esset, occupaverat cogitationes hominum,
donec, ubi diu alternis Iulius Corneliusque, cum ad id 2
bellum ipsi satis idonei duces essent, non esse aequum
mandatum sibi a populo eripi honorem disseruere, tum 3
Ahala Servilius tribunus militum tacuisse se tam diu ait,
non quia incertus sententiae fuerit—quem enim bonum
civem secernere sua a publicis consilia?—sed quia ma-
luerit collegas sua sponte cedere auctoritati senatus, quam
tribuniciam potestatem adversus se implorari paterentur.

4 tum quoque, si res sineret, libenter se daturum tempus iis
fuisse ad receptum nimis pertinacis sententiae; sed cum
belli necessitates non exspectent humana consilia, potiorem
5 sibi collegarum gratia rem publicam fore, et, si maneat in
sententia senatus, dictatorem nocte proxima dicturum, ac,
si quis intercedat senatus consulto, auctoritate se fore con-
6 tentum. quo facto cum haud immeritam laudem gratiamque
apud omnis tulisset, dictatore P. Cornelio dicto ipse ab
eo magister equitum creatus exemplo fuit collegis *se* eumque
intuentibus, quam gratia atque honos opportuniora interdum
non cupientibus essent.

7 Bellum haud memorabile fuit. uno atque eo facili
proelio caesi ad Antium hostes; victor exercitus depopu-
latus Volscum agrum; castellum ad lacum Fucinum vi ex-
pugnatum atque in eo tria milia hominum capta, ceteris
Volscis intra moenia compulsis nec defendentibus agros.
8 dictator bello ita gesto, ut tantum non defuisse fortunae
videretur, felicitate quam gloria maior in urbem rediit ma-
gistratuque se abdicavit.

B.C. 407. *Consular tribunes elected.*

9 Tribuni militum mentione nulla comitiorum consula-
rium habita—credo ob iram dictatoris creati—tribunorum
10 militum comitia edixerunt. tum vero gravior cura patribus
11 incessit, quippe cum prodi causam ab suis cernerent. ita-
que sicut priore anno per indignissimos ex plebeis candida-
tos omnium, etiam dignorum, taedium fecerant, sic tum
primoribus patrum splendore gratiaque ad petendum prae-
paratis omnia loca obtinuere, ne cui plebeio aditus esset.
12 quattuor creati sunt, omnes iam functi eo honore, L. Furius
Medullinus, C. Valerius Potitus, Num. Fabius Vibulanus,
C. Servilius Ahala, hic refectus continuato honore cum ob

alias virtutes, tum ob recentem favorem unica moderatione
partum.

The truce with Veii comes to an end this year. Verrugo is lost. 58

Eo anno, quia tempus indutiarum cum Veienti populo
exierat, per legatos fetialesque res repeti coeptae. quibus
venientibus ad finem legatio Veientium obvia fuit. petiere, 2
ne prius, quam ipsi senatum Romanum adissent, Veios
iretur. ab senatu impetratum, quia discordia intestina labo-
rarent Veientes, ne res ab iis repeterentur; tantum afuit,
ut ex incommodo alieno sua occasio peteretur. et in Vol- 3
scis accepta clades amisso Verrugine praesidio; ubi tan-
tum in tempore fuit momenti, ut, cum precantibus opem
militibus, qui ibi a Volscis obsidebantur, succurri, si matu-
ratum esset, potuisset, ad id venerit exercitus subsidio
missus, ut ab recenti caede palati ad praedandum hostes
opprimerentur. tarditatis causa *non* in senatu magis fuit 4
quam tribunis, qui, quia summa vi restari nuntiabatur,
parum cogitaverunt nulla virtute superari humanarum viri-
um modum. fortissimi milites non tamen nec vivi nec post 5
mortem inulti fuere.

B.C. 406. *Consular tribunes. The senate wish to declare war against Veii, but on account of the unpopularity of the proposal postpone it.*

Insequenti anno P. et Cn. Cornelius Cossis, Num. Fabio 6
Ambusto, L. Valerio Potito tribunis militum consulari
potestate Veiens bellum motum ob superbum responsum
Veientis senatus, qui legatis repetentibus res, ni facesserent 7
propere *ex* urbe finibusque, daturos, quod Lars Tolumnius
dedisset, responderi iussit. id patres aegre passi decrevere, 8
ut tribuni militum de bello indicendo Veientibus primo
quoque die ad populum ferrent. quod ubi primo promul- 9

gatum est, fremere iuventus: nondum debellatum cum Vol-
scis esse, modo duo praesidia occidione occisa, *arces* cum
10 periculo retineri; nullum annum esse, quo non acie dimi-
cetur, et tamquam paeniteat laboris, novum bellum cum
finitimo populo et potentissimo parari, qui omnem Etru-
11 riam sit concitaturus. haec sua sponte agitata insuper
tribuni plebis accendunt; maximum bellum patribus cum
12 plebe esse dictitant: eam de industria vexandam militia
trucidandamque hostibus obici; eam procul urbe haberi
atque ablegari, ne domi per otium memor libertatis colonia-
rum aut agri publici aut suffragii libere ferendi consilia
13 agitet. prensantesque veteranos stipendia cuiusque et vul-
nera ac cicatrices numerabant, quid iam integri esset in
corpore loci ad nova vulnera accipienda, quid super san-
14 guinis, quod dari pro re publica posset, rogitantes. haec
cum in sermonibus contionibusque interdum agitantes
avertissent plebem ab suscipiendo bello, profertur tempus
ferundae legis, quam, si subiecta invidiae esset, antiquari
apparebat.

59 *Anxur (Tarracinae) is taken. Pay is given to the soldiers.*

Interim tribunos militum in Volscum agrum ducere ex-
2 ercitum placuit; Cn. Cornelius unus Romae relictus. tres
tribuni, postquam nullo loco castra Volscorum esse nec
commissuros se proelio apparuit, tripertito ad devastandos
3 fines discessere. Valerius Antium petit, Cornelius Ecetras;
quacumque incessere, late populati sunt tecta agrosque, ut
distinerent Volscos; Fabius, quod maxime petebatur, ad
Anxur oppugnandum sine ulla populatione accessit.

4 Anxur fuit, quae nunc Tarracinae sunt, urbs prona in
paludes. ab ea parte Fabius oppugnationem ostendit.
5 circummissae quattuor cohortes cum C. Servilio Ahala cum
imminentem urbi collem cepissent, ex loco altiore, qua

nullum erat praesidium, ingenti clamore ac tumultu moenia
invasere. ad quem tumultum obstupefacti, qui adversus 6
Fabium urbem infimam tuebantur, locum dedere scalas
admovendi; plenaque hostium cuncta erant, et immitis diu
caedes pariter fugientium ac resistentium, armatorum atque
inermium fuit. cogebantur itaque victi, quia cedentibus 7
spei nihil erat, pugnam inire, cum pronuntiatum repente,
ne quis praeter armatos violaretur, reliquam omnem multi-
tudinem voluntariam exuit armis; quorum ad duo milia et
quingenti vivi capiuntur. a cetera praeda Fabius militem 8
abstinuit, donec collegae venirent, ab illis quoque exer- 9
citibus captum Anxur dictitans esse, qui ceteros Volscos
a praesidio eius loci avertissent. qui ubi venerunt, oppi- 10
dum vetere fortuna opulentum tres exercitus diripuere.
eaque primum benignitas imperatorum plebem patribus
conciliavit.

Additum deinde omnium maxime tempestivo principum 11
in multitudinem munere, ut ante mentionem ullam plebis
tribunorumve decerneret senatus, ut stipendium miles de
publico acciperet, cum ante id tempus de suo quisque func-
tus eo munere esset.

Gratitude of the plebs to the senate for this boon. The tribunes **60**
of the plebs regard the favour with suspicion and offer to support anyone who chooses to refuse to contribute to the war-tax (tributum). *But in spite of their offer the tax is readily and universally paid.*

Nihil acceptum umquam a plebe tanto gaudio traditur;
concursum itaque ad curiam esse prensatasque exeuntium
manus et patres vere appellatos, effectum esse fatentibus,
ut nemo pro tam munifica patria, donec quicquam virium
superesset, corpori aut sanguini suo parceret. cum com- 2
moditas iuvaret, rem familiarem saltem acquiescere eo tem-
pore, quo corpus addictum atque operatum rei publicae

esset, tum quod ultro sibi oblatum esset, non a tribunis
plebis umquam agitatum, non suis sermonibus efflagitatum,
id efficiebat multiplex gaudium cumulatioremque gratiam
3 rei. tribuni plebis, communis ordinum laetitiae concor-
diaeque soli expertes, negare tam id laetum [patribus] uni-
versis nec prosperum fore quam ipsi crederent: consilium
4 specie prima melius fuisse quam usu apparitурum. unde
enim eam pecuniam confici posse nisi tributo populo in-
dicto? ex alieno igitur aliis largitos. neque id, etiamsi
ceteri ferant, passuros eos, quibus iam emerita stipendia
essent, meliore condicione alios militare, quam ipsi mili-
tassent, et eosdem in sua stipendia impensas fecisse et in
aliorum facere. his vocibus moverunt partem plebis.
5 postremo indicto iam tributo edixerunt etiam tribuni aux-
ilio se futuros, si quis in militare stipendium tributum non
6 contulisset. patres bene coeptam rem perseveranter tueri;
conferre ipsi primi, et quia nondum argentum signatum
erat, aes grave plaustris quidam ad aerarium convehentes
7 speciosam etiam collationem faciebant. cum senatus
summa fide ex censu contulisset, primores plebis, nobilium
8 amici, ex composito conferre incipiunt. quos cum et a
patribus collaudari et a militari aetate tamquam bonos cives
conspici vulgus hominum vidit, repente spreto tribunicio
auxilio certamen conferendi est ortum.

9 Et lege perlata de indicendo Veientibus bello exercitum
magna ex parte voluntarium novi tribuni militum consulari
potestate Veios duxere.

61 B.C. 405. *Consular tribunes, six in number. A proposal to declare war against Veii having been carried, the new consular tribunes lead an army thither.*

Fuere autem tribuni T. Quinctius Capitolinus, Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus, C. Iulius Iulus iterum, A. Manlius,

L. Furius Medullinus tertium, M'. Aemilius Mamercinus.
ab iis primum circumsessi Vei sunt. sub cuius initium ob- 2
sidionis cum Etruscorum concilium ad fanum Voltumnae
frequenter habitum esset, parum constitit, bellone publico
gentis universae tuendi Veientes essent.

B.C. 404. *Consular tribunes. The siege of Veii slackened in consequence of war with the Volsci. The Volscian city of Artena taken.*

Ea oppugnatio segnior insequenti anno fuit parte tribu- 3
norum exercitusque ad Volscum avocata bellum. tribunos 4
militum consulari potestate is annus habuit C. Valerium Po-
titum tertium, M'. Sergium Fidenatem, P. Cornelium Ma-
luginensem, Cn. Cornelium Cossum, K. Fabium Ambus-
tum, Sp. Nautium Rutilum iterum. cum Volscis inter 5
Ferentinum atque Ecetram signis collatis dimicatum; Ro- 6
manis secunda fortuna pugnae fuit. Artena inde, Volsco-
rum oppidum, ab tribunis obsideri coepta. inde inter erup-
tionem temptatam compulso in urbem hoste occasio data
est Romanis irrumpendi, praeterque arcem cetera capta.
in arcem munitam natura globus armatorum concessit; 7
infra arcem caesi captique multi mortales. arx deinde
obsidebatur; nec aut vi capi poterat, quia pro spatio loci
satis praesidii habebat, aut spem dabat deditionis omni
publico frumento, priusquam urbs caperetur, in arcem con-
vecto; taedioque recessum inde foret, ni servus arcem Ro- 8
manis prodidisset. ab eo milites per locum arduum accepti
cepere; a quibus cum custodes trucidarentur, cetera mul-
titudo repentino pavore oppressa in deditionem venit.
diruta et arce et urbe Artena reductae legiones ex Volscis, 9
omnisque vis Romana Veios conversa est. proditori prae- 10
ter libertatem duarum familiarum bona in praemium data;
Servius Romanus vocitatus. sunt, qui Artenam Veientium,

11 non Volscorum fuisse credant. praebet errorem, quod eiusdem nominis urbs inter Caere atque Veios fuit; sed eam reges Romani delevere, Caeretumque, non Veientium fuerat: altera haec nomine eodem in Volsco agro fuit, cuius excidium est dictum.

NOTES.

Chapter I.

p. 1. 8 § **1.** *secuti*] sc. *sunt;* the use of the perf. partic. for the perf. indic. is very common in Livy.

9 *infestus*] Cicero and Livy both use *infestus* absolutely in the sense of 'deadly' or 'dangerous', cf. I. 7. 6. Livy uses it reciprocally of the state, III. 24. 11, as the opposite of *concors*, 'disquieted by mutual hostilities'. This seems to be the sense here, *annus* being personified and the attribute really describing the condition of the Roman people during the year, 'a year of hostilities' or 'irritation'.

10 *conubio*] on the Canuleian law see Introduction.

patrum] Livy in accordance with his theory expounded in I. 8. 7 uses *patres* to express both 'patricians' (as a body) and 'senators'.

12 § **2.** *iura gentium*] that is, the rights of those who belonged to the *gentes*, at this time exclusively patrician. These rights were principally (1) exclusive eligibility to all offices of state and priesthoods; (2) exclusive possession of the legal and religious traditions of the state and the *auspicia;* (3) the fact that the marriage of a patrician with a plebeian was illegal and the offspring plebeian; (4) the right of sanctioning laws and elections in the Senate.

contaminari...confundi] these presents instead of futures (as below *vulgari...auferri*) vivify the apprehensions of the patricians who in these 'promulgations' saw the thin end of the wedge being inserted. The proposed legislation would of course be in the *concilium plebis*, the resolutions (*plebiscita*) of which according to Mommsen's theory were at this time binding on the whole people if previously sanctioned by the patrician part of the senate, that is, practically at this time by the whole senate.

sensim] cf. 2. 7 *sermonibus temptasse.*

14 *novem*] the one dissentient acc. to Dionysius was C. Furnius.

16 § **3.** *id vero*] 'this last proposal in the estimation of the patricians meant simply not only &c.', lit. 'if *this* (*vero* emphasizing *id* in opposition to the smaller outrage of the intermarriage proposal) were by way of coming to pass then the chief power was being &c.'.

20 § **4.** *agri abiudicati*] 'the judicial theft of their land'. The Romans had been called upon the year before to arbitrate in a dispute between the inhabitants of Ardea and Aricia about a piece of land which both claimed, and had decided that the land in question belonged to themselves. Cf. III. 72 fol.

p. 2. 2 *Verruginem*] see 55. 8; no previous mention is made of this fortress.

adeo] qualifying the whole sentence introduces (as frequently) a striking explanation of the previous statement, *laeti audiere* &c. 'So true was it that they &c.', 'They actually &c.'.

3 § **5.** *in maius acceptis*] 'made the very most of', lit. 'received into something even greater', that is, 'welcomed and made even greater than they were'; so *in peius interpretari* &c.

6 *si quo*] 'with more energy, if possible'. *quo* is abl. of degree, 'if it were able to be prepared (if preparations could be made) to any extent more earnestly'.

T. Quinctio] consul of the preceding year, who by his speech, III. 67, 68, induced the plebs to join heartily in a war against the Volsci and Aequi, who taking advantage of the civil disturbances at Rome had advanced plundering right up to the walls of the city.

7 § **6.** *in senatu*] cf. 3. 6.

8 *nequiquam*] from this to *scivisset* is Canuleius' speech.

avertere] conative present, 'were trying to deter'.

11 *plebes scivisset*] cf. § 2.

Chapter II.

18 § **1.** *furores*] cf. II. 29. 11, the word implies very hot polemical feeling, ascribing something like demoniacal possession to an opponent, 'diabolical audacity', 'reckless infatuation'; the plural implies 'instances' or 'acts' of *furor*.

19 *adeo*] 'mark me!' 'observe!', enclitic use of *adeo* strongly emphasizing the word it follows, cf. II. 29. 10, Verg. *Aen.* IV. 94.

20 *magis*] must be supplied before the previous *quam*.

21 § **2**. *cuius*]=*eam rem, cuius praemium sit in civitate, maximis semper* &c.

22 § **3**. *pace...bello*] may be ablatives of circumstances, but more probably instrumental; 'thus (by offering reward) peace and war bring out merit'.

23 *id*] instead of *eas*, agrees with the sense of *seditiones movere* implied in *seditionum.*

24 § **4**. *reminiscerentur*] strictly speaking only suits the first question, *secum reputarent* must be supplied from it to the second.

25 *quam...quam*]=*quantam...quantulam.*

27 *ergo*] the conclusion drawn from the application of the general proposition of § 2 *cuius rei* &c.

30 § **5**. *colluvionem* &c.] cf. I. 2, 'to swamp the clans'. The expression need not mean a mixture of two sets of *gentes* as Schwegler assumes (*Hist.* III. 103, where he supposes that Livy uses *gentes* here in the sense of *ordines* which is very unlikely), but the wholesale contamination of the patrician *gentes* by the introduction of foreign elements.

31 *auspiciorum*] The right of consulting the gods by auspice-taking was inseparably associated in the patrician mind with pure patrician descent. If the plebeians acquired the right by access to the consulate, or semi-patricians were introduced into the clans by intermarriage, they feared that the whole system of auspice-interpretation would be vitiated; cf. 6. 2. In early times auspice-taking belonged as much to private as public life, cf. Cic. *de Divin.* I. xvi. 28 *nihil fere quondam maioris rei nisi auspicato ne privatim quidem gerebatur.*

p. 3. 1 § **6**. *nec se* &c.] that is, they would have no consciousness of existence as members of a body politic. Compare for the thought, Shakespere, *Coriol.* Act I. Sc. i. 'Go! get you home, you *fragments*!'

vim] 'meaning', so frequently in Cicero.

3 *qui natus sit*] sc. *ex conubio promiscuo.*

4 *sacrorum*] the genitive is descriptive, 'to what *sacra* they were entitled'. Compare the case of the patrician Verginia, who was excluded from the rites of *Pudicitia* because she had married a plebeian, X. 23. The mixture of the patrician *sacra* with the *sacra* of the plebeian families (cf. M. and M. VI. 127 fol., 130) would be repugnant not only to patrician feeling but also to the individualising tendency of the Roman religion.

7 § **7**. *accingi*] 'they were preparing to attack', metaphor from girding on armour, a favourite word of Vergil's, only used in prose by post-Augustan writers. *et* often used with and without *quidem* to introduce

the first or concessive clause of an antithesis; 'and whereas at first... now &c.'.

8 *fieret*] in 1. 2 it is *fieri liceret;* this makes all the difference. If the original demand was that one consul was to be plebeian, the demand *ut seu ex patribus* &c. was not an advance but a step back.

11 *Canuleios*] the pl. is generic. There were several tribunes of the name of Icilius. The one Livy has in his mind is probably the one who played such a conspicuous part in the overthrow of the decemvirs, III. 44 fol.

12 § **8.** *sineret*] optative. *regiae...recidere* in apposition to *id. eo = ad seditiosissimum quemque ex plebe. recidere* 'to decline upon', 'sink to the level of', cf. I. 6. 8.

14 § **9.** *certum habere*] sc. *se.*

16 *alia* &c.] 'in making one demand after another, each more unjust than the last'. *postulando*, abl. of manner, almost =*postulantem.*

17 *futuram*] a slight anacoluthon, *futuram* being really a change of construction; *concedendo* should be followed by *se habituros* or something equivalent.

primo] i.e. in the first secession.

18 *quam*] *ut* is omitted, cf. 57. 3, VI. 15. 12.

20 § **10.** *iterum*] in the second secession when the decemvirs were overthrown, III. 50 foll., and the tribunate restored.

23 § **12.** *illine ut*] an elliptical interrogative use of *ut* with subj. in which the speaker puts forward a supposition which he intends to be indignantly rejected. The infinitive is used in the same way. Cf. V. 24. 10, Verg. *Aen.* I. 37. So in English 'The idea of &c.'. 'Jenny to slander me who knew what Jenny had been!'

26 *tantum non*] *μόνον οὐ*, 'all but', 'as good as invited'.

31 § **13.** *animorum*] the plural of this word is often used in the sense of 'courage'.

p. 4. 1 § **14.** *nisi*] Luterbacher's reading. The MSS. reading is *si.* If that is retained, the mark of interrogation must be placed apparently after *eripuerint*, instead of after *posse.*

iure] alluding prob. to the interference by the tribunes with the levy. *maiestate*, cf. § 4.

Chapter III.

10 § **1.** *cum maxime*] 'at the very time when', cf. *eodem tempore* 2. 1.

14 § **2.** *videor*] sc. *mihi;* by the moderation of this form of expression, he strengthens the force of *nunc tamen maxime* &c.

16 § **3**. *quibus*] adversative use of the relative, 'and yet in these &c.', cf. II. 29. 4.

quid aliud quam] like *nihil a. q.* used as a single adverb. Cicero and Caesar always have a verb governing the *nihil aliud.*

17 *habere*] may be explained as a sense construction, *si non=quidem*, but it is distinctly an imitation of Greek construction, cf. 15. 5 *quamquam...pandere.*

19 § **4**. *nos quidem*] The argument is, 'all nations are in the habit of granting *conubium* to foreign nations on their borders, *we* as a matter of fact have done more, we have granted citizenship to peoples we have conquered'. For the facts alluded to cf. I. 13. 4, 30. 1, 33. 5.

21 § **5**. *nihil novi*] explained by §§ 9—13. The consuls succeeded to the position of the kings. Several of the kings had not even been Roman citizens, let alone patricians. The restriction therefore of the consulate to the patricians was an encroachment on the rights of the people. The demand for eligibility to the consulate on the part of the plebeians was a 'petition of right' therefore.

23 § **6**. *caelum ac terras misceant*] From a comparison of *Quis caelum terris non misceat et mare caelo, si fur displiceat Verri, homicida Miloni?*, it seems that the expression (probably a colloquial one) implies the use of excited language interspersed with such expletives as *O caelum! O terras!* and the like. 'Bring heaven and earth together in their mouths.'

24 *in senatu*] The expression here, as also in I. 6, is rather loose. As far as we know the tribunes at this time had not a seat in the Senate, but sat on benches at the open door of the *curia.*

negent] still dependent on *cur.*

29 § **7**. *apiscendi*] Livy (as Tacitus after him) rather affects the use of this, and other simple verbs, in preference to the more usual compounds, *adipiscor* &c.

30 *hoc*] in apposition to *plebeiusne consul fiat.*

tamquam] sc. *si*. *ac si* would be more regular; *tamquam* partly repeats *perinde.*

p. 5. 3 § **8**. *si dis placet*] ironical indignant expletive, like our 'if you please', or the older 'God bless the mark'.

4 § **9**. *obsecro*] interjectional use, by way of demanding special attention to what follows, 'now, please, mark this!' *fastos*, the register of *dies fasti* and *nefasti* kept in the custody of the Pontifices, the contents of which were kept a profound secret until the publication of them by Flavius, B.C. 304.

commentarios] books containing rules of religious ceremonial. In-

cidentally also they probably contained historical statements, but the argument of the speaker here is general, 'though the patricians exclude us from all the knowledge they possibly can, we still know what every one knows'.

8 § **10**. *en*] 'well! would you believe that men have heard it said &c.?' 'is it generally known, think you?' ironical, cf. X. 8. 10.

9 *non modo non*] as *ne...quidem* follows the second *non* might be omitted, as it is lower down.

11 *iussu*] the people in *comitia* assenting to a *rogatio* (passing a resolution proposed to them) were said *iubere*.

auctoribus] 'with the sanction of the patrician senate'; compare note on I. 2. *patres auctores fiunt* was the form of words by which the Senate gave their sanction to laws and elections.

13 § **11**. *incolam*] 'a settler in Rome'.

15 § **12**. *Corniculana*] cf. I. 39.

16 *quid enim*] 'For (with all these other instances at hand) there is no need to quote the case of T. Tatius', an instance of the rhetorical form (*praeteritio*) by which a speaker draws attention to a fact by passing it over.

18 § **13**. *dum*] as much causal as temporal, a frequent use in Livy, cf. II. 31. 2, Roby, *Lat. Gr.* p. 283.

19 *paeniteat*] delib. subj., the verb has here the meaning of 'discontent' or 'offence', which is not uncommon.

22 § **14**. *Claudiam*] cf. II. 16. 4.

24 § **15**. *ex peregrinone...spes erit*] favourite Latin form of the *argumentum ex contrario* by means of uncoupled paratactic sentences, e.g. *Sulla potuit, ego non potero?* In English it is generally necessary to turn by conditional or concessive and principal sentences.

25 *fiat*] deliberative subj.

26 § **16**. *tandem*] rhetorical use, 'I ask'. 'Which is it, I ask? Is it that we believe it to be impossible for a plebeian to arise, brave, able and vigorous, useful in peace and war, like Numa, and Tarquinius, and Ser. Tullius, or that, if there *be* such a one, we are not going to let him handle the reins of government, but are determined to have for consuls men like the detestable but wholly patrician body, the decemvirs, rather than self-made men like the best of the kings?' *novis hominibus:* cf. 48. 7, the expression really belongs to a later time. *ne...quidem* οὐδέ 'not in that case either'.

CHAPTER IV.

p. 6. 7 § **1.** *at enim*] the regular formula of *occupatio* or anticipation of an opponent's argument, 'but I shall be told'.

8 *quid postea?*] 'well! what then?', used by Terence frequently, by Cicero occasionally; the more usual formula is *quid tum?*

11 § **2.** *pontifices* &c.] on all these officials see Ramsay *R. A.*

15 § **3.** *apud patres*] 'in the time of our fathers', cf. II. 18. 4.

16 *plebi*]=*plebei* gen. of *plebes*, declined acc. to 5th declension. *aediles* sc. *plebei*. *quaestores:* we should have expected these to be placed with the consuls, with whom they appear to have been specially connected. As to the identification of the *quaestores aerarii* with the *quaestores parricidii* see M. and M. II. 525, Mommsen, *Rom. Hist.* I. 260.

19 § **4.** *in aeternum*] Livy puts a sentiment of his own time into the mouth of the speaker.

20 *imperia*] 'powers', used generally; technically *imperium* was the official power of such magistrates as possessed supreme civil, military and judicial authority. M. and M. I. 22.

iura gentium hominumque] 'rights of clans and individuals'.

21 *instituantur*] instead of saying 'will or must be instituted', he says 'are as a matter of fact being instituted'. Having mentioned a number of such new institutions in previous times, he assumes that such alterations go on continually as part of the regular development of the city.

22 § **5.** *paucis his annis*] 'within the last few years'.

23 *pessimo publico*] cf. II. 1. 3; the superl. is used as a subst., the phrase being formed on the model of *bonum publicum* 'the good of the commonwealth', 'with the worst possible results to the community'.

an] see note on 42. 6.

24 *insignitior*] occurs also in VII. 6. 6, 15. 10, VIII. 13. 1; in X. 15. 5 we find *insignior*.

30 § **7.** *Albanis*] cf. I. 30. 2 *Principes Albanorum in patres legit* (Tullus). *Sabinis*, cf. 3. 14.

31 *per cooptationem...populi*] According to Livy (I. 8. 7) patrician dignity was derived from membership in the Senate. A man being a member of the Senate, he and his descendants thereby became patrician. If therefore a foreigner was made a senator by one of the kings, or later (as Appius Claudius, cf. II. 16) by election by the people, he and his clansmen might be said, by a rather loose use of the word, to be 'cooptated' into the patrician body, the whole number of the patrician clans admitting the new members into their union.

32 *iussu populi*] cannot be understood of direct nomination to the Senate, but of election to one of the state offices, from the holders of which vacancies in the Senate were apparently from very early times filled.

p. 7. 1 *enubere*] i.e. to lose her patrician rank by marriage with a plebeian.

3 § **8.** *libido*] alluding to the story of Virginia, III. 44 fol.

4 § **9.** *verum enimvero*] 'but of course (I need not tell you)'. *enimvero* assumes that the statement made is self-evident.

5 *id demum*] 'this and nothing short of this', cf. I. 9. 5; the sense is 'the *legal* prohibition is required to complete the outrage on the feelings of the plebeians'.

8 § **10.** *ut* &c.]=*ut femina in eam domum nuberet in quam convenisset* (it had been arranged) *ut nuberet:* the clauses *ut in quam...nuberet* and *ut ex qua...duceret* are practically explanatory of *quod...fuit* 'a woman's marrying &c.,... a man's taking a wife &c.'

14 § **11.** *quid in re aliud*] 'what real difference (essential alteration)?' So X. 8 *nihil est aliud in re.* Seneca *ep.* 116 *immo mehercules aliud est in re.*

15 *tandem*] cf. 3. 16.

16 *nempe*] the general force which underlies all the uses of this word is, 'to make what we are speaking about clear, let me put it thus': so here: 'what alteration is caused in existing legal rights? (clearly none for) children of course follow the rank of their father'; that is, 'putting it in this way, we see that there is no impairing of patrician rights, if a patrician chooses to raise a plebeian woman to his rank or a patrician woman to lower herself to the rank of a plebeian husband'. On the subject see Introduction.

§ **12.** *nec* &c.] '(there is nothing for *us* to seek) *we* have nothing to look for from marriage with you except the privilege of being treated as human beings and fellow-citizens, and *you* have no ground &c.'

18 *nisi*] the force of the indicative is, 'if it is a fact that you do not take pleasure &c., then it is a fact that you have no cause for your aggressive action. But seeing that you are taking such action, it is clear that you do take pleasure &c.'

CHAPTER V.

24 § **1.** *tandem*] cf. 3. 16.

27 § **2.** *iubere*] cf. 3. 10. *ut quaeque* 'as often as a proposal', *ut quisque* of a repeated action is frequent in Livy.

28 *pro poena*] 'by way of penalty'. *pro* expresses equivalence, as in the phrase *pro certo habere.*

30 *adiges*] 'administer the military oath to'. It is a question whether *sacramento* is dat. or abl., but probably it is the former. The constructions *iureiurando, ad iusiurandum, iusiurandum adigere* are also used. *iuniores* the men of military age between 18 and 44.

31 § **3**. *quid, si*] 'how would it be now, if'.

32 *quantum*] 'how little'; so *tantus* and τοσοῦτος = 'only so much' = 'so little'. Cic. *de Imp. Cn. Pomp.* VI. 14 *Ceterarum provinciarum tanta sunt vectigalia ut iis ad ipsas tutandas provincias vix contenti esse possimus.*

p. 8. 1 *bis*] in the two secessions. *scilicet* in prose is almost without exception used ironically.

2 *an*] the first question is implied in the previous sentence. *an* here introduces the alternative which the speaker desires to have accepted. 'May I suggest that the reason why there was no contest was that the side which was strongest was also most temperate?'

7 § **5**. *facitis*] *erit* and *feceritis* would be more regular. The present tenses make the statement more vivid. 'The plebs are ready &c. whenever you begin to make &c.'

10 *consortio*] 'full partnership' is explained by *societate rei p.*, 'sharing the administration of the commonwealth'.

11 *annuis magistratibus*] abl. of circumstance.

12 § **6**. *ferte sermonibus*] 'discourse of wars as solemnly as you will', with the implication of 'exaggerate'. So *ferre laudibus aliquem.*

13 *mult. f.*] 'talk one after another of them into existence'. The imperatives, instead of concessive clauses, express defiance.

nomen dare is used of soldiers answering to their names when called, in the making of the levy.

16 *privata*] sc. *re.* Cf. Cic. *de Amic.* § 15 *quocum mihi coniuncta cura de publica re et de privata fuit.*

Chapter VI.

20 § **1**. *et...et*] the two facts were simultaneous, the appearance of the consuls in the *contio* and the alteration in the procedure.

23 § **2**. *ut...sic*] like *ut...ita* = 'though...yet', a Latin equivalent to μὲν...δέ.

24 *auspicia*] cf. 2. 5.

25 *incerta*] cf. 2. 6.

26 § **3**. *ad id*] *ad* in this connection signifies the occasion, 'hereupon': cf. XXI. 41. 3 *ad famam huius hostis egressus...movi castra.*

29 *auctorem*] is a wide word applicable to one who is the originator of anything. Here it means little more than a responsible leader, one to whom they could look for direction in carrying out the purpose they had at heart.

31 § **4**. *concessere*] by sanctioning the proposal in the *concilium plebis.* Cf. I. 2.

p. 9. 1 *post*] 'till after'.

3 § **5**. *ingens*] 'won a proud position'. XLII. 12. 3 *Perseum inter ipsos reges ingentem auctoritate.*

4 *ad certamen*] qualify *accensi*, *pro rogatione sua* qualify *pugnant.*

6 § **6**. *per senatum*] This is the earliest mention of the right of the tribunes to veto a resolution of the Senate. It would be rash to infer from this passage that they really possessed the right at this early period. The Annalists, from whom Livy drew, seem to have assumed that the right was inherent in the Tribunate from its foundation.

9 § **7**. *V. atque H.*] These were the consuls of the year 449, who took the part of the plebs against the decemvirs, negotiated the return of the plebs from the second secession and passed the Valerio-Horatian laws, III. 50—55.

10 *Claudi*] uncle of the decemvir.

sententia] is personified, *armabat* conative, 'was for arming', 'proposed to arm'.

11 *Quinctiorum*] L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, mentioned frequently in the third book, consul 460, dictator 458 and 439, and T. Quinctius Capitolinus Barbatus, six times consul.

13 *foedere*] cf. II. 33, III. 55. 7. *accepissent* 'recognised'.

15 § **8**. *sinerent*] the subject is *patres* supplied from what precedes.

21 § **9**. *concursare*] 'pervade the forum'; the prefix implies the number of candidates, the frequentative verb their excited action. *Candidati* in apposition to the subject, 'as candidates'; the substantival use of the word is derived from the fact that candidates appeared in freshly whitened togas, cf. 25. 13.

22 § **10**. *ut*] probably final, expressing the object of the action of the plebeian candidates.

primo] 'to begin with', the patricians would start with poor hopes of success: the feeling of disgust at their probable colleagues, supposing they were successful, added to this, would complete their reluctance to compete.

24 *tamen*] peculiarly placed; it must qualify *postremo*, 'in the end however pressed by &c.'

25 *possessione*] 'occupation', a strong way of expressing their position as leaders.

27 § **11.** *secundum*] used of immediate sequence in time, 'the moment the fighting was over'.

29 *ratio*] Livy means to suggest the technical sense of this phrase, to allow a man's candidature, cf. 55. 6. The people were satisfied with the mere fact that plebeians were allowed to compete.

Chapter VII.

p. 10. 10 § **1.** *pro consulibus*] implies that these magistrates were equivalent to consuls, hence = *consulari potestate.*

11 *Atilius*] According to Niebuhr, who quotes V. 13 where a L. Atilius Longus is expressly called a plebeian by Livy, a plebeian, in which case Livy's statement above, *omnes patricios*, is incorrect.

17 § **2.** *imperio*] sc. *consulari*, cf. 4. 4. See also on this passage the Introduction.

19 § **3.** *augurum decreto*] If in taking the auspices before the *comitia* any irregularity was committed, a *vitium* was incurred, all the subsequent proceedings were null and void, any magistrates elected were said to be *vitio creati* and obliged to vacate their office at once. It was the duty of the augurs, when such *vitium* was suspected, to enquire into the matter and decide whether the irregularities had been committed or not. But see Introduction.

20 *perinde ac*] usually imply comparison, but seem here to mean no more than *ut.*

22 *tabernaculum capere* is a condensed expression for *locum capere ubi tabernaculum ponatur*, to choose the ground for placing the hut; so *templum capere* is to choose the quarter of the sky in which auspices are to be observed; for this sense of *capere* cf. Verg. *Aen.* I. 396. For an account of the ceremony see Ramsay *R.A.* 112.

23 § **4.** *iniuria*] cf. I. 4.

26 § **5.** *praeterquam quod*] *quod* is the conjunction: the subject to *fieret* must be supplied from *rescindi.* 'Except where it was done without precedent or warrant of law, and that for the purpose of preserving harmony between the two orders.' Cf. XXIX. 27. 14 *Coelius praeterquam quod non mersas fluctibus naves* (*exponit*) *ceteros omnes caelestes maritimosque terrores...exponit.*

28 § **6**. *sua tempora*] 'await their opportunity', 'their own times' are circumstances favourable to their application.

32 *relaturos*] 'would reopen the question in their senate'.

rem integram referre is to make a proposal on a subject already decided, as if no such decision had taken place, but the matter were untouched (*integra*), cf. II. 5. 1 *de bonis regiis, quae reddi ante censuerant, res integra refertur ad patres.* Livy uses of the Ardeatine senate the term (*referre*) appropriated to proceedings in the Roman senate.

p. 11. 1 § **7**. *interregem*] see Ramsay *R.A.* 131.

5 § **8**. *quia*] Rather careless writing. After saying that the tribunes and plebs contended for the election of military tribunes, he goes on to give reasons why neither the mass of the plebs, nor the principal plebeians cared to contend.

6 *supersedit*] meaning originally 'to sit above', came to mean 'to hold aloof from', 'avoid', and was used with abl., e.g. *proelio supersedit*, and from the sense of 'omitting' implied in it, with the infinitive.

7 § **9**. *ratio*] cf. 6. 11. *sui* would be more regular.

9 *in beneficio*] lit. 'left the contest without result as a favour deposited with the leaders of the patricians'. Livy seems to have had in his mind the Greek phrase χάριν τίθεσθαι παρά τινι, 'to deposit a favour with a person', 'lay him under an obligation'. 'The tribunes refrained from pushing the contest to an issue, as a favour to &c.', *in beneficio = in beneficii loco.*

13 § **10**. *monumenti*] partitive gen. 'a piece of evidence'.

15 *libris*] 'Lists of magistrates chronologically arranged. How soon these lists began to be kept we cannot tell, but we are told that M. Fulvius Nobilior, a contemporary of Cato the censor, made a collection of them. The Fasti still extant, called Capitolini, because they are preserved in the Capitol, are a similar collection, made perhaps about the time of Augustus', Seeley, *Livy* I. p. 13.

16 § **11**. *perinde ac*] = *perinde ac si*, as in a few other places, e.g. II. 58. 1.

19 § **12**. *linteis*] records kept, as the name implies, on prepared linen, in the temple of Juno Moneta (goddess of recollection) or in some place near that temple. The temple according to Livy was built in 346 on the Capitol.

inventa] the order is, *L. M. auctor est* (states) *nomina et in...et in...inventa esse.*

Chapter VIII.

26 § **1**. *consulibus*] descriptive abl. qualifying *annus*, 'a year of undoubted consuls'.

28 *consule*] must be supplied to *Macerino;* the singular is used probably on account of the numerals, *iterum*, *quintum*.

§ **2**. *censurae*] The subject of the censorship is excellently treated in Prof. Ramsay's manual. He shows the natural connection between the extended powers they acquired and their original functions as state registraries. That those powers should have been developed was due mainly to (1) the principle of the subordination of the interests of the individual to those of the community rigidly carried out by a strong and in the main patriotic oligarchy; (2) to the greater simplicity of Roman life before foreign conquest complicated it. The right of admission to and exclusion from the Senate (*lectio senatus*) was not apparently acquired for some time after the institution of the censorship, perhaps not until the Ovinian law (circ. 312), cf. 24. 7. In ascribing to the censors absolute jurisdiction over private sites and premises, Livy speaks loosely. The censors possessed such jurisdiction only in cases where boundary disputes arose between the state and individuals, e.g. where individuals had encroached in any way on public lands or buildings, cf. XXXIX. 44. 4 *quae in loca publica inaedificata immolitave privati habebant intra dies triginta demolita sunt.* XLIII. 16. 4 *censores libertinum parietem in sacra via adversus aedes publicas demoliri iusserant quod in loco publico inaedificatus esset.*

30 *morum disciplinaeque*] together about equivalent to our 'moral conduct'. *mores* is the more external of the two, the outward practice, *disciplina* the standard recognised, 'tone'.

p. 12. 2 § **3**. *ortum initium*] pleonastic, so we speak of the first beginning of a thing.

3 *multos*] 17 according to Livy, cf. III. 24. 10.

4 *operae erat*] 'had no time', the genitive is partitive, and *opera* by a natural transition has the sense of 'time for work'. The phrase is ante-classical and Livian, and must not be confounded with *operae pretium* 'worth while'.

5 § **4**. *mentio*] 'the matter was broached by the senate in a resolution to the effect that &c.'.

mentionem inferre or *facere* is to make a statement by way of originating deliberation or discussion. What Livy means here is that

the senators by a resolution in the Senate paved the way for a bill on the subject to be brought before the *comitia*.

7 *ministerium*] 'a staff of clerks', abstract for concrete, as we talk of the 'Civil Service'.

tabularum] sc. *censoriarum*, the books containing all the details of the registration.

8 *formulae*] the schedule filled up in reference to each citizen registered, containing his answers to the questions about himself and his property, which the censors chose to put to him. This form varied at the discretion of the censors.

§ **5**. *quamquam* without a verb is rarely used by Cicero.

11 *etiam*] refers to *quod evenit*, 'what *did* happen they also expected would happen'; *credo* 'I imagine', parenthetic, in Cicero so used almost always in an ironical sense.

12 § **6**. *id quod tunc erat*] 'the present condition of the censorship', lit. 'that which existed then'.

13 *procurationem*] 'an office involving duties more useful than showy'.

15 *haud sane*] 'were not disposed to offer opposition', lit. 'by no means strove or exerted themselves', the context implies *contra* after *tetendere*.

17 § **7**. *parum solidum*] 'incomplete', so *solidus dies*. *re* 'their work'. On the subject see Introduction.

Chapter IX.

23 § **1**. *pro*] 'on the score, in the name of', lit. 'in accordance with'.

24 *recenti*] this use of an adj. or another participle qualifying a participle is characteristic of Livy, e.g. *omissa inrita re* &c.; an adverb would be more usual here, 'the fresh renewed truce'.

25 § **2**. *namque*] This position of *namque* is not found in earlier writers, who always place it at the beginning of the sentence.

optimo consilio] 'most wisely', abl. of circumstance like *pessimo publico*.

26 *per intest.*] In this and similar phrases the subst. governed by *per* implies something which does or does not interfere with an action being carried out according as the sentence is negative or positive, *per me licet* 'I put no obstacle'. The idea seems to be that an action may (or may not) pass *through* something which can obstruct it.

30 § **3**. *vertunt*] 'men ascribe', an ellipse of subject unusual except in the case of a few verbs regularly so used, *ferunt*, *tradunt* &c.

32 § **4**. *tutoribus*] sc. *virginis*.

p. 13. 1 *corporis*] 'body' in the collective sense of a community, cf. I. 17. 2 *oriundi ab Sabinis sui corporis creari regem volebant.* Here it means the plebeian body.

4 § **5.** *esse...tendere*] historic infin.

6 *partium*] 'party interests'.

memores] 'not allowing themselves to forget', 'careful of', so II. 6. 9 *neuter dum hostem vulneraret sui protegendi memor*, 'bestowing a thought on', 'caring'; so *obliviscor* is used in the opposite sense, II. 2. 3.

ad suum tendere] 'inclined to the member of their own body'.

§ **6.** *intra parietes*] 'at home', 'within the domestic circle'.

7 *postulatu*] 'appeal', a word not used elsewhere.

9 *dant*] 'the magistrates decide that the mother shall have full power to decide the question of the marriage', lit. 'give the right (legal control) of the marriage (to be) according to the discretion of the mother'.

10 § **7.** *iniuria*] the injustice of the decision probably lay in disregarding the usage (it can hardly have been a law, as Weissb. observes, for then the dispute could scarcely have arisen) according to which the guardians of a girl had the disposal of her hand, the mother being in all probability herself under the care of *tutores* of her own.

11 *manu facta*] 'getting a body of men together'.

12 § **8.** *infestior coorta*] 'the optimates rising angrily to oppose them gathered all their armed force under the leadership of (to back) the injured and indignant youth'. The comparative implies the effect of the provocation.

coorior contains the double notion of gathering force and attacking, used, e.g. of a storm gathering and bursting.

acies] used here quite generally of an 'army' or 'armed force' but implying perhaps that the nobles made their attack in more regular military fashion.

14 *nihil*] condensation, they were like the Roman plebs in leaving the city, but unlike them in their behaviour after their secession, cf. III. 52. 3 *castra in sacro monte locavere modestiam patrum suorum nihil violando imitati.* 'Unlike the R. P. they marched forth from the city, *but* &c.'

15 *cum ferro*] 'armed with fire and sword', the instrument is expressed as a conspicuous accompaniment, so *cum gladio*, 'sword in hand' &c.

18 § **10.** *species cladesque*] hendiadys, 'the horrors of war in every form were present'.

19 *velut*] with abl. absol. = *velut si* with subj. 'Participles with relative conjunctions generally of modal, seldom of any other, meaning, are scarce in Classical Latin, but from Livy's time, in consequence apparently of Greek influence, are frequent' *Draeger*. Cicero can only with certainty be said to use three, *quamvis*, *ut*, *quasi*, in this way. *contacta* 'has caught the infection of', compare the use of *contagio* I. 15. 1, *belli Fidenatis contagione inritati Veientium animi*.

21 § **11**. *bellique*] the *que* couples two synonyms, *arma* being a common rhetorical way of expressing *bellum:* 'neither side were content to use their own arms only in the war'.

25 § **12**. *vallum*] Ardea stood on a steep hill. This *vallum* must apparently have been carried on the plain beneath and, according to § 14, was not completed, as it is there said that the Roman commander carried a cross-wall from the wall of Ardea to his own camp.

27 § **13**. *praecipiti*] cf. *praecipiti iam ad vesperum die*, 'the day was hastening to its close', poetic personification, probably imitation of Vergil. Compare *iam praeceps in occasum sol erat*, Livy, and, *sol praecipitem lavit aequore currum*, Vergil.

28 *curare corp.*] 'to refresh themselves', includes both food and sleep.

29 *signa*] a number of phrases expressing military movements are formed with *signa*, the standards being the most conspicuous feature in an army in motion, e.g. *signa conferre*, *inferre*, *convertere*, &c.

coeptum] 'as soon as it was begun', *opus* apparently a *vallum* carried outside that of the enemy. See next Chapter, § 1.

32 § **14**. *qua*] frequent Livian use of adv. instead of the case of a pronoun, so *unde* = *a quo*, *eo* = *ad id*, *eum*, *ibi* = *in eo*, etc.

Chapter X.

p. 14. 5 § **1**. *in diem*] 'from day to day'.

8 *Romanus*] sc. *imperator*, or it may be the collective or generic use of the singular, of which Livy is very fond esp. in the case of national names, e.g., *Poenus*.

10 § **2**. *ferendas* &c.] 'it was for the conquered to accept terms not to propose them, and if the Volsci to please themselves had come to attack allies of the Roman people they were not going to depart as they came'.

12 *ita*] that is, *suo arbitrio*.

13 § **3**. *fatentes*] *eos* is to be supplied, 'he ordered them to confess defeat and submit to Rome'.

16 *relaturum*] *reporto* is commoner in this sense; the abl. with *ex* signifies the people whose defeat furnishes the victory.

§ **4**. *in armis*] = *in armis positam*. The use of adverbs or adverb phrases as attributes is characteristic of Livy, cf. II. 6. 7 *ex lictoribus procul*.

23 § **5**. *odio*] = *ab Tusculanis ob vetus odium*, Luterb. 'surprised in their defenceless condition by their inveterate enemies, the Tusculans'. *inermes* cf. 9. 1.

27 § **6**. *iudicii*] cf. 1. 4.

32 § **7**. *quibus*] abl. after *dearmatus* = *spoliatus*.

p. 15. 3 § **8**. *curam tenuit*] 'maintained regard for', 'kept steadily in view'.

moderando] 'dispensing equal justice to high and low', lit. 'regulating justice to'.

6 § **9**. *tenuit*] = *obtinuit*, 'held his own more, &c.'

eodem tenore] 'rigidly on the same principles', lit. 'in the same continuous course', i.e., without swerving from the plan he had begun with.

7 *consulariter*] 'as a consul should', not used elsewhere.

Chapter XI.

15 § **2**. *quo maiori* &c.] 'stimulated by the contemplation of their predecessors' glorious achievements and seeing that what made the year memorable...was that, &c.' The construction is rather irregular, beginning with *quo* with comparative, and going on with the superlative.

17 *maxime...subventum*] might possibly be regarded as parenthetical, but the apodosis in sense corresponds to these words.

21 § **3**. *fecerunt*] 'procured'.

22 *eo*] after the sense of *deducerentur* implied in the sentence.

23 § **4**. *palam*] 'This was the form in which the resolution was written and published'. Livy means apparently, as Weissb. says, that the *senatus consultum* was reduced to writing in order to be proposed to and confirmed by the *comitia tributa*. *referre in tabulas* = to commit the resolution to writing tablets = to commit to writing.

24 *ut plebem* &c.] 'in order that the plebs and the tribunes might not detect the real design, which was to rescind the decision'.

iudicii] cf. 1. 4, 7. 5.

25 *consenserant*] that is, the senate had privately agreed.

p. 16. 3 § **6.** *quod nihil*] 'because they had refused to be influenced by anyone'.

vexationes ad populum] 'the harassing process of a public trial to which they had been already summoned (with a view to which they had been already impeached) by the tribunes'. *ad populum* seems to qualify both *vexationes* and *die dicta.*

4 § **7.** *coloni adscripti*] 'by enrolling themselves as colonists (and so forfeiting their Roman citizenship, as Ardea was an independent state) and remaining in the colony'.

Chapter XII.

9 § **2.** *ludi*] this matter is not mentioned elsewhere.

10 *a patribus*] qualifies *secessionem. per* 'during'.

11 § **3.** *causa*] 'material for'.

12 *ea ipsa*] refer to what follows; he had declared that he would force the consuls to bring the matter of land-distribution before the senate, and would get military tribunes elected instead of consuls.

13 § **4.** *plebi*] the proposed agrarian legislation probably had reference to the small number of Roman citizens included in the Ardeatian colony.

neque...et] 'not only not...but'.

14 *referrent*] cf. 43. 4.

28 § **7.** *resisti*] sc. *malis,* but see note on text.

mala] neut. pl. subject to *coepere.*

29 *seu...seu*] rather curious parallelism of the finite verb *fuit* and the abl. absol., *deserto cultu, seu* in the former clause being conjunctional and in the latter adverbial.

p. 17. 1 § **8.** *perpulere*] sc. *tribuni.*

4 *libertatis*] cf. 13. 8. It seems very doubtful whether a single *praefectus annonae* was ever appointed in the early times of Rome. Livy seems to be ascribing to those days an institution of his own time.

9 § **9.** *momentum*] 'produced no impression on', lit. 'effected no alteration in the balance of'. *momentum* orig. = simply 'movement', but the idea of the movement of a balance seems always attached to it. *circa,* cf. 52. 5.

10 § **10.** *dispensationem*] 'falling back on the plan of distributing the pressure of want', that is, by forcing those, who had corn, to part with it, he made the want press more equally on all.

12 *inde*] 'in consequence' of the plan he adopted. The sentence is a clumsy one. Two distinct statements, (1) that he used means to dis-

tribute the pressure of want, and (2) that by the means he used he succeeded rather in exposing the extent of the want than in alleviating it, are mixed up together and the ablatives indistinctly distributed between the two.

16 § **11.** *obvolutis*] a custom both among the Greeks and among the Romans, when a person committed suicide or knew he was dying. Socrates covered his head when the poison was beginning to work on him, Plato, *Phaedo* p. 118 A, comp. Horace, *Sat.* II. iii. 37 *cum vellem mittere operto me capite in flumen.*

Chapter XIII.

19 § **1.** *equestri*] Livy appears to mean a plebeian *eques*. The term *equester ordo* did not come into use till quite late times, when those who possessed the Equestrian census, but were not senators, formed a class or order distinct from and generally opposed to the senatorial order. Livy here again (cf. 12. 8) ascribes to ancient times an institution of his own times.

ut] 'as in those days', i.e. 'considering it was in those days', 'for those days'. *ut* like *ὡς* in these cases introduces a limitation of the application of the adj.

20 *exemplo...consilio*] abl. of attendant circumstance, cf. 4. 5: 'attempted to carry out a useful object by means most injurious in the example they suggested, and even worse in the spirit they exhibited'.

22 § **2.** *hospitum*] *ξένοι*, foreign friends or correspondents.

clientium] foreigners dependent on him in consequence probably of money lent to them.

25 § **3.** *incederet*] cf. 48. 3.

26 *conspectus*] 'conspicuous', adjectival use of the participle: so *contemptus* = 'contemptible' II. 55. 3. Compare the negative participles *invictus* 'invincible', &c.

27 *favore*] 'whose present devotion and future hopes assured his election': *favore* is the feeling arising out of gratitude for favours received, *spe* the hope of further favours to come.

30 § **4.** *quoque*] whichever he tried for, consulate or monarchy, would have to be wrung from the patricians; he might as well therefore expend his efforts on the higher as the lower prize.

31 *apparatu*] 'all his elaborate scheming and the fierce struggle which would try his powers to the utmost'.

32 *exsudandum*] lit. 'would require sweating to win it'.

p. 18. 2 § **5.** *necdum*]=*nondum.* *nec* was a simple negative prefix as in *necopinato*, *negotium* &c., and so was regarded occasionally in *necdum*, esp. in later Latin (cf. Pliny, *Paneg.* 14. 1); usually of course *necdum* was regarded as=*neque dum* '*and* not yet'.

9 § **6.** *Lanato*] with the phrase *nomen est alicui*, the name may be either dative or nominative, Livy prefers the former Cicero the latter.

10 § **7.** *praefectus*] sc. *erat*, 'was superintendent of the markets either because he had been (lit. whether he was so, having been) re-elected, or because he had been appointed in the first instance for an indefinite term, "so long as circumstances may require".' *posceret* is orat. obliq. of *poscet*.

12 *libros linteos*] cf. 7. 12.

15 § **8.** *genus*] i.e. the class of corn-dealers.

18 § **9.** *stare*]=*constare*, 'was not yet fixed'.

20 *partita*] passive, 'had been distributed'.

21 *cuius incerti*] gen. of *quid incertum*, more regular Latin would require *res incerta* in the oblique cases.

24 § **10.** *et prioris*] corresponds to *et novos* below.

26 *donec*] an unusual variant for *dum* in this connection.

28 *auctorem*] Livy's favourite use of a subst. for a participle or relative clause, cf. II. 11. 4 *in parvis rebus negligens ultor, gravem se ad maiora vindicem servabat;* 'which called for a consul not only to bring it to light, but to punish it as well'.

30 § **11.** *ad dissolvendum*] expresses of course the opinion of Quinctius upon the right of appeal.

31 *pro*] 'as its heinousness deserved', lit. 'in proportion to its heinousness'.

p. 19. 2 § **12.** *L. Quinctium*] Cincinnatum, cf. 6. 7. *ibi*=*in eo viro*, cf. 9. 14, III. 15. 9.

Chapter XIV.

17 *novitate rei ac miraculo*] 'by the strange and startling appearance'.

18 *et*] introduces two unconnected antithetical clauses dependent on *cum*, *Maeliani* in the first being opposed to *expertes* &c., those who knew nothing of his designs, in the second.

21 § **2.** *rectorem*] cf. 13. 10, 'to direct the commonwealth'.

28 § **4.** *apparitor*] Ramsay, *R. A.* 198. *duceret* conative, 'tried to lead him away'.

30 § **5.** *consensu*] 'a conspiracy'.

p. 20. 5 § **7**. *macte*] it is uncertain whether this is an adverb or vocative case, but as the plural *macti* is used in the same phrase, the latter seems more likely. In that case the vocative is substituted for the nominative by attraction on account of the vocative sense of the whole expression.

CHAPTER XV.

13 § **1**. *existimatione*] abl. of cause, 'because they could not make up their minds what to think of S.'s act'.

18 § **2**. *causae*] dat., 'a fortune like his cause', i.e. he would have fared as his pleading fared.

21 § **3**. *ex qua*] the antecedent is at the end of § 4 *in ea*.

23 *pactionem*] cf. II. 3—6.

24 § **4**. *Collatinum*] cf. II. 2. *Sp. Cass.* II. 41.

29 *Sp. Maelius*] repetition of *qui* with contemptuous emphasis, 'being as he was a Sp. Maelius'.

30 § **5**. *quis homo?*] in apposition to Sp. Maelius, 'and (as such) being what sort of individual?' 'and what did that name mean?'

32 *pandere*] the infin. in a subordinate clause in *oratio obliqua*, instead of the subj., is an imitation of Greek construction, cf. 3. 3 *si ...habere*, II. 3. 8 *quemadmodum se non habiturum*, &c.

Claudios] the famous decemvir is alluded to.

p. 21. 2 *quo*] sc. *tollere animos*.

5 § **6**. *emisse*] *spero* here has almost the sense of *credo*, 'flattered himself', hence the perf. instead of the regular fut.

6 § **7**. *ut*] consecutive. *concoquere* 'to digest', 'stomach', apparently a colloquialism.

8 *orti, recepti*] chiasmus.

9 *magis quam*] as *μᾶλλον ἤ* sometimes does, = 'so much as'. 'The action was to be regarded not simply as criminal, but as praeternatural and portentous', and therefore required special expiation.

CHAPTER XVI.

16 § **1**. *Aequimaelium*] Ramsay, *R. A.* 39.

17 § **2**. *bove*] The meaning apparently is, that Minucius was honoured by an image of an ox with gilded horns set up in commemoration of his action. According to Pliny, it was a statue of himself or a column that was erected, perhaps both. See note on text.

Trigeminam] at the N.W. corner of the Aventine.

19 *assibus*] 'at the rate of one *as per modius*', lit. 'valued at *asses* according to (for separate) *modii*', *in* is distributive like κατά.

20 § **3**. *transisse*] if this account were true, it would be the earliest instance of *transductio ad plebem* (on which see Ramsay, 118). But it is probably a fiction invented by the Minucii, a plebeian gens, to show that they had been originally patrician. Cicero, *Brutus* § 62, among the falsifications introduced into Roman history by funeral orations (*laudationes*) mentions *genera falsa et ad plebem transitiones.*

23 § **4**. *vix credibile*] Livy is probably right in his view of this 'eleventh tribune'. But he is wrong in regarding the Trebonian law, to which he alludes, passed B.C. 448, as direct disproof of this account. That law required that ten tribunes should be elected. If there were an eleventh he might be cooptated without breaking the law. Moreover Livy himself V. 10. 11 mentions a breach of this law.

25 *aut certe*] 'or at least'.

26 *imaginis*] Livy assumes that the story grew out of a lying inscription attached to the *imago* of Minucius by his descendants. On these *imagines* see Ramsay, 67.

32 § **5**. *de honoribus*] From this it appears that the honour accorded to M. was by plebiscite. According to Dionysius it was the act of the Senate.

p. 22. 3 § **6**. *sex locis*] 'with six vacancies', abl. of circumstance.

4 *et plebei aliqui*] '*some* plebeians as well as patricians'.

6 § **7**. *plebs*] The military tribunes were elected in the centuriate assembly. Livy, in saying that the plebs elected only three, means that the plebeian part of the assembly made no effort to get more appointed.

9 *tumultus*] 'in whose unpopular dictatorship they tried to find material for civil disturbances'. *dictaturae* is descriptive genitive after *invidia*, and *cuius* gen. after the whole expression *dictaturae-invidia.*

Chapter XVII.

15 § **1**. *Fidenae*] not mentioned by Livy since its siege at the outbreak of the Latin war, II. 19. 2.

Lartem] a title of the Etruscan kings.

21 § **3**. *ut...videretur*] consecutive clause, explaining *ambiguam.* The story apparently was that a messenger from the Fidenates, coming to ask the king what answer was to be given to the Roman ambassadors, found him engaged in a game of dice. The king engrossed with his

game, instead of answering the question, used an expression, connected with the game, capable of being interpreted into an order to kill the Roman ambassadors. Livy regards this rightly as incredible. He assumes that the question put by the Fidenatian messenger proposed the murder of the ambassadors.

22 § **4.** *rem*] in apposition to the previous sentence, with acc. and infin. depending on the sense of statement in *rem*.

25 *nec deinde*] 'or that the crime was not afterwards excused on the ground of misunderstanding (lit. turned into misunderstanding)'.

§ **5.** *propius fidem*] 'more probable', lit. 'nearer to belief', *propius* preposition, comparative of *prope*.

28 § **6.** *publice*] 'at the public cost'.

rostris] an anachronism, for the name *rostra* was not given to the Forum platform until B.C. 338.

30 *praeterquam populis*] = *praeterquam quod finitumi populi erant;* cf. XXII. 53. 6 *quod malum, praeterquam atrox, super tot clades etiam novum* &c.

p. 23. 4 § **7.** *ad curam*] qualify *quieta*, 'quieted by regard for the general welfare (lit. the whole of things, the whole state, as opp. to the plebeian interest only)'. *ad* implies cause or occasion, as in I. 7. 7 *cum boves ad desiderium relictarum mugissent.*

9 § **8.** *rettulit*] cf. 10. 3.

12 § **9.** *collegio*] the body of colleagues, i.e. the consular military tribunes. *quo* sc. *anno*.

15 § **10.** *veteres*] i.e. veterans who had been discharged from military service.

18 § **11.** *cum...tum*] 'both'...'and'. *submovere* perf. indic.

20 *ceperunt*] sc. *hostes*, subject changed.

22 *Faliscorum*] inhabitants of Falerii.

24 § **12.** *confluentis*] at the confluence of the Anio with the Tiber, lit., at the rivers where they flow together.

25 *qua sequi*] 'throwing up a rampart between himself and the enemy, wherever he found it possible to go on with the work'. *sequi* has the sense of following on or progressing continuously, *munimento* is abstract, the work of fortification.

CHAPTER XVIII.

30 § **1.** *Faliscus...Veienti...Fidenati*] collective use of the singular common with proper names in Livy.

p. 24. 8 § **4.** *qui...adgrederentur*] object of *circummisit*.

16 § **6.** *arcem*] on the northern elevation of the Capitoline hill, called in ancient times the *auguraculum*, because the flight of birds for auspice purposes was observed from there.

17 *admisissent*] like *addico*, is used of birds giving favourable omens, cf. I. 36. 6. The sense is derived from the sense of 'permitting'.

Chapter XIX.

27 § **1.** *par*] equal, that is, to his beauty, 'equally distinguished by'.

p. 25. 1 § **3.** *iam*] 'presently'. *hanc* agreeing with *victimam*, instead of *hunc* in apposition to it, a kind of attraction most common in the case of the relative when it agrees with the complement of its verb instead of with its antecedent. *mactatum dabo* more emphatic than *mactabo*.

5 § **4.** *hasta*] 'with the help of his spear leapt to the ground', lit. 'resting on his spear caught himself on his feet'.

6 § **5.** *repetitum*] 'piercing him again and again'. *repeto* means 'to re-attack', cf. Ov. *Metam.* v. 473 *et repetita suis percussit pectora palmis.*

17 § **8.** *corona*] troops formed in a circle all round the *vallum*, used 47. 5 of besiegers.

19 *dextra principali*] sc. *porta*, Ramsay, *R.A.* 397; it was the side gate of the camp on the right hand of one facing the front of the camp.

triariis] the first division of the third line, veterans used as reserve, Ramsay, 383.

Chapter XX.

27 § **2.** *spolia opima*] Ramsay, 395.

28 *incondita*] 'rude', lit. 'uncomposed', that is, made without regard to poetic rules.

30 § **3.** *Romuli*] cf. I. 10. 5, 6. *Feretrii:* according to Livy l. c. the temple was founded by Romulus when he dedicated his *spolia opima.* It stood on the Capitoline and was one of the temples restored by Augustus, § 7. The restoration is mentioned also in the *Monumentum Ancyranum.*

32 *averterat*] plpf. of immediately completed consequence. The immediate result of the action of C. was that he became at once the centre of attraction to the citizens, who had no eyes for the dictator's car, and the sole hero of that day's celebration.

celebritatis] the celebration of an event by *numbers*.

p. 26. 2 § **4.** *libram pondo*] in apposition to *coronam*. *pondo* abl. of *pondus* only used in this connection, hence frequently used alone, as indecl. subst. = pounds.

3 *iussu*] as above § 1, used in the technical sense of a resolution of the people passed in *comitia*. Cf. 3. 10.

4 § **5**. The story of Cossus' exploit was according to Livy beset with difficulties: (1) according to the conditions of the *spolia opima*, C. could not win them as a subordinate officer; (2) according to Augustus, the inscription on the spoils in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, which he saw when he restored the temple, named Cossus as consul; (3) on the other hand, the records fixed Cossus' consulship 9 years later, in a year when it was almost impossible for such an exploit to have been performed; (4) 3 years after his consulship, he was consular military tribune, and commanded in an important cavalry action; this may possibly have been the occasion on which he won the *spolia opima*. But then why should he inscribe himself consul? The probable explanation is one that Livy could not suggest, that Augustus had made a mistake.

12 § **7**. *thorace*] belonging to Tolumnius, a breastplate made of, or lined with, linen or canvas, such apparently as was used by the Samnites among other Italian peoples (compare the *linteata legio* mentioned x. 38. 12), but not apparently at any time by the Romans.

15 § **8**. *quis*] 'how the mistake in this matter originated, in consequence of which such ancient annals &c., is a subject on which all are free to form their opinion'; *quod...habeant* in apposition to and explanatory of *error*, 'the mistake that they should have, &c.'

16 *quosque linteos*] = *lintei libri quos*. Cf. 17. 12. *demum*, 'not till nine years later', so *tum demum*, 'then and not till then'. Cf. 4. 9. *existimatio* lit. 'is thinking (subject for speculation) common to all'.

20 § **9**. *etiam*] that there *is* a mistake is further confirmed by a fact which makes it impossible to transfer such a brilliant battle to the year ascribed to C.'s consulship.

21 *ne*] depends on the sense of hindering implied in the previous words.

22 *quod...fuit*] in apposition to *illud*.

28 § **10**. *ea libera*] 'here is room for free conjecture'. Cossus being consular military tribune might possibly have inscribed himself a consul, and the year of Tolumnius' death may have been by mistake ascribed to the first dictatorship of Mam. Aemilius, instead of the third. Comp. 30. 4, and 31. 1.

§ **11**. *vana*] 'baseless speculations may take shape in all sorts of opinions, whereas (the fact remains that) &c.'. But see note on text.

Chapter XXI.

p. 27. 7 § **3.** *quaesitae*] 'civil disturbances were attempted but without success', lit. 'sought for but not stirred'.

8 *favore*] 'popularity'. *moturum aliquid* 'could produce an effect'.

9 *publicandis*] as the proposal was only to confiscate S.'s goods, which was not adequate penalty for the crime imputed, it would seem as if he must have been in exile at the time. This is confirmed by a passage in Cicero, *de domo sua* § 86, where he says that S. went into banishment. Possibly his exile was voluntary, to avoid trial.

12 § **4.** *vaniora*] 'more insignificant'.

14 § **5.** *prodigia*] sc. *curae erant.*

16 *praeeuntibus*] sc. *verba* 'dictating the form of words'. Instead of *praeire verbis* 'to go before with words', because of the transitive sense of 'dictating' which the word thus acquired, the Romans said *praeire verba.* This form of solemn supplication to the gods (*obsecratio*) was procured by the *duumviri sacrorum* from the Sibylline books of which they were custodians, Ramsay, 330.

22 § **6.** *non modo*] the majority of MSS have *non* before *exiret,* which Madvig rejects for reasons given in note on text; *non modo* like οὐχ ὅπως may mean either 'not only', or 'not only not', but as a rule is only used in the latter sense when *ne...quidem* follows. Livy has the same usage, XXIV. 40. 12 *ut non modo alius quisquam arma caperet* (=*non caperet*) *sed etiam ipse rex...perfugerit.*

23 *memoria*] cf. 9. 5.

24 § **7.** *ultro*] 'actually', i.e. in a way entirely beyond what would ordinarily be expected.

29 § **8.** *Collina*] Ramsay, 7.

31 § **9.** *aggere*] sc. *Servii Tullii,* on which see Ramsay, 6.

p. 28. 1 *Quirini*] 'on the Quirinal'. The sitting was held here in order to be near the seat of danger.

4 § **10.** *nocte*] The consul charged by the senate with the duty of appointing a dictator rose at midnight and, if the auspices allowed, named (*dixit*) the dictator, Ramsay, 146.

Chapter XXII.

10 § **1.** *aerario*] the standards seem to have been kept in the treasury (temple of Saturn) for security, cf. III. 69. 8.

16 § **3.** *vis*] 'no effect', almost, 'no use'.

19 § **4.** *propinquitatem*] i.e. to Rome.

23 § **5**. *qui*] =*ut ii* (final), in the plural, because the antecedent in sense is the soldiers of the four divisions into which the army was divided.

26 § **6**. *a certo*] *aversis* is implied in *intentis*, 'fixed on groundless (unreal) alarms to the disregard of real danger'.

29 § **7**. *villa*] a state-building for census and levy purposes, called *villa*, because it was built in the Campus Martius outside the city. *probaverunt* 'passed': the work had been let to contractors, and the censors now declared that it had been executed in accordance with the terms of the contract.

Chapter XXIII.

p. 29. 6 § **2**. *in tam discrepanti*] 'in spite of the important discrepancy both quote the *libri lintei* as their authority'.

7 *editio*] 'statement', 'representation'.

10 § **3**. *veri*] *incertus* is not used with the gen. by prose-writers before Livy.

17 § **5**. *circa*] cf. 52. 5.

Voltumnae] the tutelary goddess of the Etruscan confederation; her temple was near Volsinii.

Chapter XXIV.

p. 30. 9 § **4**. *quod...esset*] in apposition to *libertati consulturum*, 'he would do the work that required doing within the walls and &c.'.

10 *eius*] sc. *libertatis*, 'the great safeguard of that liberty lay in this, that great powers should not be of long duration, and that offices which could not be limited in point of jurisdiction, should be limited in point of time'. This is curiously inconsistent with what Livy said (c. 8) about the origin of the censorship. See Introduction.

23 § **7**. *aerarium*] *aerarii* were *cives sine suffragio* resident in Rome. They paid tax, but on the whole of their property of all kinds. The result of this in M.'s case was that he paid on a sum eight times larger than he had before. *tribu movere* at this time seems to have meant absolute exclusion from any tribe. In later times it meant transference from one of the *tribus rusticae* to one of the *urbanae*. Ramsay, 82.

Chapter XXV.

p. 31. 9 § **3**. *Apollini*] as god of health. In Roman ritual Apollo was addressed as *Paean* and *Medice*. On the early introduction of

Greek elements into Roman religion see Mommsen, *R. H.* I. 186, 451.

duumviri] cf. 21.

12 § **4**. *promiscue*] qualifies *hominum pecorumque pernicie*. Adverb used as attribute, cf. 10. 4. The adv. is more generally however inside a phrase, e.g. *omnibus circa solo aequatis; ingentis publice privatimque decoris*. *accepta* agrees with *clades*.

14 *Cumas*] The Romans had twice before applied to this city for similar assistance, II. 9. 6, 34. 4. There appear to have been friendly relations between Rome and Cumae from very early times, Mommsen, I. 330.

26 § **7**. *ad*] 'with a view to', unusual combination with *consilia*. See note on text.

31 § **9**. *principes*] cf. 7. 9, where the *principes plebis* are opposed to the *plebs*. These were the rich and powerful plebeians, the identity of whose interests in some respects with those of the patricians helped to prolong the contest between the two orders.

32 *imminentes*] 'finding their ambitious hopes of higher preferment baffled so long as there was peace at home'. *esset* subj. because dependent on the feeling implied in *imminentes spei*. For this use of *immineo* with the dat. 'to desire, concentrate the energies upon', cf. III. 51. 9 *imminensque ei potestati*.

p. 32. 6 § **11**. *aut*] 'otherwise', a conditional sentence with negative protasis expressed by two co-ordinate alternatives, the *aut* with the first being omitted. 'Either our ancestors, &c., or we should have had to see', instead of 'if our ancestors had not...we should have had, &c.' Cf. Horace, *Od.* III. xii. 2 *Miserarum est neque amori dare ludum...aut exanimari metuentes*, &c.

7 *adeo*] cf. I. 4.

suis] dat., after *sordere = sordidos videri*, 'were so contemptible in the eyes of the men of their own order'.

9 § **12**. *ambitione artibusque*] 'intriguing and manoeuvres', explained further on by *mixtis precibus minisque*.

12 *suffragia*] equivalent to an abstract, 'would enter the voting', i.e. 'go to vote'.

14 § **13**. *album*] subst. The allusion is to the freshly whitened (pipe-clayed) toga worn by candidates for office (*toga candidata*), whence the word *candidatus*. The plebeians apparently thought that the personal influence of patrician candidates might be lessened, if they were not kept so conspicuously before the eyes of the people. The effect of the

prohibition would perhaps be the same in kind as that of prohibiting candidates in England from driving through the streets on election-days.

CHAPTER XXVI.

26 § **1.** *tumultus*] as a military term is a stronger term than *bellum*, implying a dangerous and alarming war. Cicero defining this use of it says 'war may exist and not *tumultus*, but no *tumultus* without war. *tumultus* is a violent disturbance on such a scale that unusual fear is excited by it'. Hence the later use of the word to denote a war near home, therefore more alarming, as opposed to a foreign war.

causa] that is, for holding consular elections.

30 § **3.** *apud eos*] the Volsci and Aequi. A levy held under a *lex sacrata* is thus described, X. 38. 3 *dilectu per omne Samnium habito nova lege ut, qui iuniorum non convenisset ad imperatorum edictum quique iniussu abisset, caput Iovi sacraretur;* a *lex sacrata* was so called because it was guarded by religious sanctions, transgression of it being punished with excommunication.

31 *utrimque*] 'from both peoples'.

33 § **4.** *muniendi*] 'camp-making', 'fortification work', used absolutely.

p. 33. 6 § **6.** *pravitas*] 'perverseness', 'wrong-headedness', cf. 49. 8.

8 *auctores sint*] followed by accus. and infin., cf. 7. 12.

11 § **7.** *alia aliis*] 'when threat upon threat each more formidable than the last had been employed without inducing the consuls to submit to the authority of the Senate', cf. 2. 9.

16 § **8.** *pro potestate*] 'in virtue of the powers which your office confers upon you'.

18 § **9.** *pro collegio*] 'on behalf of the corporation', one or two, that is, declared the resolution of the whole body.

20 *in vincula*] the only case in which a tribune could have the power to arrest a magistrate would be if the latter disregarded the tribune's right of intercession. But it is easy to understand that, with the increasing power of the plebs, the tribunes would be able to stretch their powers, as in the instance given II. 56. 13. On the present occasion, with the patricians as well as the plebeians behind them, it is obvious that they could carry out their threat, whether legal or not. The history of the tribunate is a history of the development of *de iure* out of *de facto* powers.

22 § **10.** *datum sub iugum*] 'ignominiously surrendered', a metaphor from passing a conquered enemy under the yoke, cf. II. 34. 9.

24 *pro potestate*] 'in virtue of his office', as a legal constitutional right, acknowledged by the senate.

25 *foret*] an exception to the general rule of questions in *oratio obliqua*, according to which we should expect *fore*. Weissb. explains it on the ground that *quo quid ulterius* practically = *quo nihil ulterius*.

27 § **11.** *nam*] the duty of appointing the dictator had to be decided by their drawing lots because they could not agree between themselves, as was usual, which should appoint.

32 § **12.** *vacantium*] the consideration of claims to exemption from military service was postponed till the war was over; any men therefore who were not certain of the validity of their claims would give in their names for fear of being treated as deserters at the end of the war, cf. III. 68. 7.

Chapter XXVII.

p. 34. 11 § **1.** *praeeunte*] cf. 21. 5. The Pontifex Maximus was the official who usually dictated the form of words used when a magistrate made a vow on behalf of the state.

12 *ludos magnos*] sc. *votivos*, the *ludi magni* regularly performed every year acquired the distinctive name of *ludi Romani*, though they are often called *ludi magni* simply. *tumultus*, cf. 26. 1.

15 § **3.** *ipsi*] distributed into *dictator* and *consul*.

17 § **4.** *totidem*] asyndeton, cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI. 39.

18 *ad proelia*] qualifies *excursionibus*, an adverb-phrase used as attribute to a substantive, cf. 25. 4.

22 § **5.** *paulatim*] 'the dictator being quite content that his men should measure their strength with the enemy, and feeling their way through the results of daily skirmishes learn to anticipate success in a general engagement'.

24 § **6.** *iusto*] 'regular open fighting in the field'. *iustus* in this sense = 'normal'; so *iustus amnis* 'the river at its normal level', &c.

25 *committunt*] the force of *committo* in such phrases as this is, to set a thing going in a certain direction out of one's own control, and to abide by the result. 'They staked their fortunes on a risky (uncertain) enterprise.'

28 § **7.** *ubi*] 'when an emergency called for immediate effort, the consul showed both courage and judgment'. The sentence apparently contrasts the present action of the consul with what the previous notice of him and his colleague might have led us to expect.

30 *corona*] cf. 19. 8.

32 § **8**. *ad castra*] sc. *consulis.*

p. 35. 1 *ipse*] the dictator.

8 § **9**. *ordine*] the frequent use of the modal ablative without an attribute is a feature of Livy's style.

§ **10**. *illud*] the point in which the dictator showed his superiority to other first-rate commanders. 'It was a brilliant proof of daring and judgment, and showed talent of no ordinary calibre.'

10 *ultro*] 'actually', cf. 21. 7.

11 *profectos*] sc. *hostes esse.*

13 § **11**. *alieni*] i.e. of those who were attacking the consul's camp.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

26 § **3**. *ad unum*] 'to a man'.

30 § **4**. *ultro*] 'unprovoked'.

p. 36. 5 § **6**. *telum*] for the metaphor cf. XXI. 44. 9 *nullum contemptu mortis telum ad vincendum homini ab dis immortalibus acrius datum est.*

7 *dant*] the more usual phrase is *facere impressionem*, as below, 29, 3.

CHAPTER XXIX.

32 § **4**. *et his*] = *his quoque.*

p. 37. 1 *sua*] neut. pl. after *cognoscentibus;* part of the booty was expended in restoring to the L. and H. what they recognised as their property.

2 *sub hasta*] 'by public auction', the spear stuck in the ground, a custom originating in the sale of booty on a battle-field, became the sign of public sales generally.

8 § **6**. *et licet*] sc. *id facere*, i.e. to refuse belief; *in variis*, 'as opinions differ', *in* with the abl. of the attendant circumstances, a common use.

9 *Manliana*] 'that we speak of instances of "Manlian" not "Postumian" discipline'. The term was a proverbial one for harsh and unnatural exercise of military discipline, dating from the incident narrated in VIII. 7.

10 *cum*] 'whereas'.

15 § **7**. *sine sorte*] instead of waiting to draw lots.

18 § **8**. *nihil visum*] = *id quod nihil pertinere visum est.* Livy is of course mistaken. The Carthaginians had settlements in Sicily long before this and were defeated in B.C. 480 in an attempt to conquer the island. Nothing is known of the interference here mentioned by Livy.

Chapter XXX.

28 § **1.** *pro foedere*] 'in exchange for a permanent treaty'. The Aequi apparently offered formal surrender on condition of becoming allies on equal terms (*aequo foedere*).

30 § **2.** *super*] 'in addition to'. The defeat at Mt. Algidus was one cause of weakness and their internal discords an additional one.

32 § **3.** *multarum*] The object of this law was apparently to commute the fines imposed for offences against order from sheep and oxen into money; on the subject of these fines see Mommsen, *Rom. Hist.* I. 159, 259, 275, 446.

p. 38. 2 *praeoccupaverunt*] used as the simple verb *occupo* by Livy with the infin. with the same meaning as *φθάσαι* with participle; *occupo* with infin., in this sense, is used by Plautus, but not by Cicero or Caesar.

22 § **8.** *alibi*] 'in some cases' corresponds to *alia*. Some died of thirst, others of cutaneous disease.

25 *impletur*] 'infected', comp. *μεστόω*.

28 § **9.** *vaticinando*] 'by posing as seers'. *inferentibus*, abl. absol. the subject being the relative clause *quibus...domos*.

31 § **10.** *pacis exposcendae*] descriptive genitive qualifying *piacula* and expressing the purpose of them. Livy is much more free in his use of cases of the gerundive than Cicero. This descriptive use of the genitive of the gerundive is common with him; cf. III. 24 *legis tollendae frustrationem*.

p. 39. 8 § **13.** *fetiales*] Ramsay, 331. For an account of the ceremonies observed by them see Livy, I. 32.

12 § **14.** *tamen*] that is, although the truce had expired, and the Veientines had given provocation by renewing the war before the expiration of the truce.

13 § **15.** *controversia*] The question was whether the war was a fresh one, requiring the sanction (*iubeo*) of the people in *comitia*, or only a continuation of the previous war.

18 § **16.** *tenuit*]=*obtinuit*, 'carried their point'.

Chapter XXXI.

29 § **2.** *tendendo*]=*dum tendunt*. Livy often uses a gerund where Cicero would use a conjunctional clause. Cf. *iactando* below § 6.

30 *ad occasionem*] 'opened the way to attack them at a disadvantage'. Livy also uses the simple phrase *occasionem aperire*.

p. 40. 5 § **4.** *ibi*] 'in this case also', cf. 9. 14.

6 *ne*] not the ordinary use after a verb of hindering, because in that case *non* would not be necessary, but after the sense of 'fearing' implied in *religio obstaret*, 'they were met by the fear on ceremonial grounds lest (that) a dictator could only (*non nisi*) be nominated by a consul'; *ne non* used instead of *ut* because *nisi* requires a preceding negative.

10 § **5.** *censoria*] cf. 24. 7.

13 § **6.** *tamen*] the sense is *missis legatis iactando...tamen nullam quidem...moverunt, sed voluntarios...adsciverunt*, 'they sent ambassadors &c., but (in spite of all their appeals) failed to obtain public recognition and support from the league (lit. public-counsel participation) though they attracted &c.' *consilii* is descriptive genitive, the objective genitive if expressed would be *belli sui*.

18 § **7.** *colonorum*] 30. 6.

27 § **9.** *ab*] 'in consequence of', a common use in Livy.

Chapter XXXII.

32 § **2.** *momentis*] 'such trifling fluctuations of fortune', lit. 'such unimportant movements of the balance of fortune'.

p. 41. 8 § **3.** *ad Nomentum*] Servilius had fought at Nomentum, Aemilius near Fidenae, c. 17. 2.

26 § **9.** *occupare*] 'to secure'. *occultum* masculine.

28 *foret*] subj. in *oratio obliqua*, part of the dictator's order.

29 § **10.** *meliore*]=*bona occasione magis quam pugna* 'in consequence of what was rather a good opportunity than a successful engagement on the previous day'; or perhaps, as Weissb. renders it, 'in consequence of the engagement on the previous day, in which they were successful rather by good luck than good fighting'.

33 *pleno gradu*] 'at full speed'.

p. 42. 2 § **11.** *regiae*]=*cum rege.*

5 § **12.** *impium*] 'traitorous', as a colony so often rebelling against its mother-city, it showed disregard for the ties of natural duty (*pietas*).

praedonem] 'brigand' in allusion to the raid on the Roman territory before the truce expired, c. 30. 4.

Chapter XXXIII.

15 § **1.** *concusserat*] sc. *Romanus.*

17 *invisitata*] a rare word almost synonymous with *inauditus*, used prob. in preference to *invisus* because of the ambiguity of the latter.

18 § **2.** *fanatico*] properly used of persons inspired by a deity, here used of the action of such people, 'running like men possessed'.

22 § **3.** *incendio*] 'more like a field on fire than an army fighting', an extreme instance of the expression of persons in terms of inanimate things. So XVIII. 9. 15 he speaks of one man as 'the real triumphal procession', *uno equo vehi verum triumphum.* Commoner instances are *semina discordiarum* said of men, *irae=irati*, *flagitia=flagitiosi* &c.

27 § **4.** *ultro*] 'attack *them* with their own weapons'. *ultro* here implies an action quite beyond the expectation of the enemy, turning the tables upon them. So Verg. *Ecl.* VIII. 52 *Nunc et oves ultro fugiat lupus.*

29 § **5.** *suis*] opp. to *vestris*, the reflexive because of the idea that Fidenae is furnishing the weapons for her own destruction.

p. 43. 3 § **7.** *et ipse*] 'on *his* part' started a novel mode of fighting with the cavalry as the dictator had done with the infantry.

9 § **8.** *ruinae*] 'left slain in heaps behind them', lit. 'dealt overthrow like a ruin-heap'.

20 § **11.** *obtruncantur*] *alii* is omitted.

Chapter XXXIV.

p. 44. 6 § **4.** *equite*, *centurione*] collective use of singular.

7 *et quorum*]=*et ab iis quorum...fuerat, binis sorte ductis.*

8 *sub corona*] captives in war sold as slaves were crowned with chaplets, hence the expression.

11 § **5.** *reddito*] to the ordinary magistrates. *imperio* 'the sovereign power'.

13 *classi*] abl. cf. 37. 6.

17 § **7.** *forte*] 'possibly', separated from *nisi* by *in traiectu* to emphasize the latter.

18 *ut fit*] 'as so often happens'.

Chapter XXXV.

32 § **3.** *ludi*] cf. 27. 1.

p. 45. 4 § **4.** *comitate*] abl. of cause; the pleasure of the spectacle was increased by the courtesy of their entertainers.

8 § **6.** *in partem*] 'to claim their share in the chance of preferment to the consulship', lit. 'to call back the hope of the consulship in part'. Cf. VII. 22—9 *censuram vocari in partem plebes volebat.*

9 *revoco* gives the notion of appealing for a right.

non modo...non] The second *non* might have been omitted here, cf. 21. 6.

10 *quae*] = *quorum creandorum.* Livy very commonly uses a pronoun agreeing with a subst. instead of a simple case, or a preposition and case of the pronoun qualifying the subst. e.g. *haec ira = propter hanc rem ira.*

15 § **8.** *ut*] the construction is adapted to the verb *postulandum.* The use of *ut* with subj. after *spero* begins with Livy, but he has it only once with *spero* alone. *aliquis* 'that any (a) tribune, &c.' *aliquis*, more definite than *quis* and *quispiam*, implies individuality, though less definitely than *quidam: si quis dicat* or *dicat quispiam*, 'it may be said', without reference to the individuality of the speaker; *dicat aliquis* 'some individual person may say', *dicat quidam* 'a person who could be pointed out if necessary may say'; both *aliquis* and *quidam* are often equivalent to the English definite article.

17 *pro certo habeat*] 'he may be sure'.

22 § **9.** *desissent*] plural because of the plural sense of *neminem plebeium;* 'every plebeian will begin to respect himself when plebeians begin to be respected'.

23 *denique*] almost = *tandem* and expresses impatience, 'it is really time to try'. Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* IV. ii. 40 *aliquam mihi partem hodie operae des denique. ferendo*, this use of the dative of the gerund or gerundive with *esse*, = to be fit for, is pretty common in Livy, cf. II. 9. 6 *qui oneri ferendo essent*, but in writers before him almost confined to the phrase *solvendo esse* 'to be capable of paying, solvent'.

28 § **10.** *suggillatos*] 'knocked about', lit. 'beaten black and blue', a late word only used here by Livy, though he has the subst. *suggillatio* elsewhere.

29 *praebere os*] 'to unnecessarily expose themselves to (invite) insult'.

32 § **11.** *per*] adverbial use of *per* with a subst. 'by way of their own unworthiness', i.e. 'by way of proving their own unfitness', the unfitness not being real, but implied by their being rejected.

Chapter XXXVI.

p. 46. 8 § **2.** *agri dividendi*] sc. *plebi* cf. 12. 4, on the subject see Mommsen, *R. H.* I. 276 and 302.

9 *imposito*] i.e. probably enforcing the payment of tithe and fifth by the *possessores*, which had fallen into abeyance. *vectigali imposito* qualify *erogandi aeris* as abl. of means. *in stipendium* 'by way of pay'.

11 § **3.** *quo*] consecutive, a time of such kind that (when) the departure of men &c. made it possible to pass a *senatus consultum* in the absence of the tribunes. *per discessum* 'taking advantage of a general absence of the population'. The use of *per* here is similar to its use in the phrase *per aliquem licet*, cf. 9. 2.

19 § **5.** *tribuni*] the order is *non fuit quod tribuni plebi contenderent aut cum iis &c. aut cum Appio, transacta re. plebi* gen.=*plebei*.

Chapter XXXVII.

29 § **1.** *propius vero*] This seems to be the right explanation. Capua is said to be connected etymologically with *campus* and κῆπος. On the early history of Campania see Mommsen, *R. H.* I. 33.

p. 47. 1 § **2.** *graves*]=*gravatos*.

12 § **6.** *nec...et*] 'not only not...but'. *perinde* 'proportionately'.

13 *sorti*] abl., the form surviving in this phrase. Comp. *classi* c. 34. 6.

14 *fortunae*] Livy occasionally uses the dative with *fretus* (VI. 13. 1) from the sense of 'trusting to' contained in it.

22 § **9.** *ab Romanis*] 'on the Roman side out of time, uneven, growing feebler each time it was raised it told by its wavering tones of daunted courage'. *segnius saepe* seems to be short for *quo saepius eo segnius. segnius* is the significant word here, not *iteratus*, which by itself would rather be a sign of heartiness.

25 § **10.** *circumspectantibus*] 'as the wearers looked round' for support.

26 *et incerti* &c.] 'while individual soldiers faltered and wavered and pressed into the nearest mass, the standards at one moment were holding their ground, but being deserted by the advanced ranks, at the next (in consequence of this desertion) were falling back to the rear of their respective maniples'. The standards are spoken of as living things, Livy having the standard-bearers in his mind. The proper position of the standards in action was immediately behind the front line, *hastati* or *principes*, as the case might be; in case of repulse of the front line (*antesignani*) the standards would of course fall back to the rear of the maniples immediately behind them. *nunc...nunc*, this usage begins with Lucretius. Classical prose-writers use *modo...modo*.

29 § **11.** *tegi*] 'were defending themselves more than fighting'.

30 *plus caedis*] i.e. saw more Romans killed than flying.

Chapter XXXVIII.

p. 48. 4 § **2.** *imperium*] the authority of the commander. *maiestas* the dignity inherent in his person as the representative of the state.

6 *decurio*] the 300 cavalry attached to a legion were divided into 10 *turmae* and each *turma* into 3 *decuriae*, a *decurio* was the commander of a *decuria*.

7 *subvenisset*] absol. 'came to the rescue'.

10 § **3**. *parmata*] the *parma*, small round shield, was carried by the cavalry (II. 6. 9) and the light-armed infantry. The word *parmatus*, coined by Livy, and only used here and in the next chapter, is intended to enhance the service rendered by the cavalry, the 'bucklered' troop was to do the work of the whole fully-armed legion. *vexillo* the cavalry standard.

17 § **4**. *laborem*] = *ubi suos plurimum laborare vident.*

19 § **5**. *possent*] we should have expected *nec dubium est quin si...potuissent* &c. Livy seems to throw himself into the time of the occurrence.

Chapter XXXIX.

30 § **2**. *posse*] historic infin.

31 § **3**. *tegumen*] 'the shield', poetic metaphor.

p. 49. 1 *tendunt*] 'braced themselves to meet any fate'.

2 *quicunque* is used by Livy as indefinite demonstrative, in Cicero it is always relative.

5 § **4**. *in orbem*] = *in orbem congregati*, so XXII. 22. 15 *in orbem pugnare.*

7 § **5**. *quicquam*] is generally, but not always, used in negative and interrogative sentences, because of its exclusive sense, 'any one person or thing out of a whole class'; the same sense is obvious here, 'one bit of light'.

8 § **6**. *imprudentia*] here simply 'ignorance'.

ab] Cf. 31. 9.

20 § **9**. *foeditatem*] 'miserable (revolting) spectacle'. *foedus* always implies something revolting, grewsome, physically or morally.

21 *quibus*] graecising attraction = *iis quos.*

secum] because the abl. absol. is practically equivalent to an aor. act. partic. in the nom. case.

Chapter XL.

31 § **2**. *stationem*] 'was keeping a look out', *statio* in military sense is most commonly used of outpost, sentinel duty.

32 *quinam essent*] indirect qn. dept. on *dubiis* = *cum dubitarent.*

p. 50. 3 § **3.** *conclamaverant*] 'had bewailed as dead'; the verb is regularly used of the cry raised at the death-bed when the sick person expired, Ramsay, 425.

7 *compotes*] generally used with the gen. after it, here, as in III. 70. 13 *praeda ingenti compotem exercitum*, with the abl. The ablatives here might be taken with *effusae*, as Madvig takes them, placing the comma after *animo*, instead of after *quaeque;* in that case *sui* or *animi* must be supplied to *compotes*.

17 § **6.** *in tempore*] 'at the right time', cf. XXXIII. 5. 2.

20 § **7.** *tuo consilio*] 'on your own authority', the point being that the consul was helpless.

26 § **9.** *pro virtute*] 'as your worth and honor demand'.

30 *denique*] 'in a word', summing up. In l. 28 *denique* is 'lastly', in l. 23 simply 'further'.

Chapter XLI.

p. 51. 4 § **1.** *vana*] 'not robbed of its proper weight, (lightened by, tinselled with) self-laudation'; the phrase shows how *vanus* passed in later usage from the sense of 'emptiness' to the special form of emptiness implied in 'vanity', 'vaingloriousness', 'ostentation'.

5 § **2.** *quanta*] 'it was not for a soldier to criticise his general; it was not for him therefore to estimate the military skill of C. Sempronius; that was the duty of the Roman people, when they elected him consul'.

9 § **3.** *quoque*] 'on which great minds and intellects could not pronounce judgment off-hand', lit. 'which by great, &c. required to be carefully weighed also'. It would seem more natural to attach the *quoque* to *magnis*, but the necessity for careful deliberation requires to be emphasized.

16 § **5.** *tenuerat*] is unusual in *orat. obliqua*, but Livy has other instances of it, e g. III. 2. 3.

19 § **6.** *castris*] probably dative, 'for a camp'.

20 § **7.** *credere*] sc. *se*.

25 § **8.** *Labicana*] The consul must have taken a somewhat circuitous route to reach the road, which lay considerably to the N. of the scene of the battle.

30 § **10.** *ab re*] cf. 31. 9.

31 *pro consule*]=*consulari potestate*, cf. 7. 1.

32 *gravis*] a distinction necessary in Livy's time, but not at the time of which he is speaking, as the *as* had not yet been reduced in weight. *aes grave* here=*as libralis*, cf. 60. 6.

33 § **11.** *in Volscis*] cf. 27, *ad Fidenas*, cf. 32.

p. 52. 5 § **12.** *exactae*] 'and the now aged Capitolinus', gen. of description attached directly to a proper name, more commonly attached to an appositional *vir*.

Chapter XLII.

16 § **1.** *quos et*, &c.] when they dismounted in the battle and formed themselves into maniples of infantry requiring centurions.

26 § **4.** *temptationem*] 'meant to try his staying powers'.

28 *auxilio*] used in the technical sense of the intercession of a tribune.

30 § **5.** *subnixus*] an ablative must be supplied from *innocentiae*.

31 *sub tribunicia*] 'an ex-consul sheltering under the wing of a tribune!' an effective piece of parenthetic *oratio obliqua*.

32 § **6.** *si reum perago*] a phrase, pretty frequent in later Latin, meaning to carry on a prosecution to condemnation, cf. Ov. *Trist.* I. i. 24 *et peragar populi publicus ore reus*.

p. 53. 1 *an*] common rhetorical use of *an* to single out of several possible alternatives the one that suits the speaker's purpose, often used by way of *reductio ad absurdum*, representing as the only alternative to the speaker's proposition something that cannot possibly be accepted. Here it represents the deprivation of the people of their just rights &c. as the only alternative to the other tribunes' desisting from opposition to the speaker, therefore the necessary consequence of such opposition, assuming that he carried out his purpose.

6 § **7.** *vestem mutaturos*] 'they would put on suppliants' clothing'; when a Roman citizen was in danger of losing his life or his citizenship, or feared such danger for a friend, he appealed to the pity of the community, and in token of such appeal changed his clothing, and appeared in old worn and shabby garments (*sordidatus*).

8 § **8.** *nihil moror*] a phrase implying the abandoning of a prosecution, cf. VIII. 35. 8.

12 § **10.** *Aequis*] cf. 43. 2.

Chapter XLIII.

25 § **2.** *ovans*] the minor triumph. Ramsay, 395.

27 § **3.** *necopinata*] 'unexpected and most serious disturbances', lit. 'an unexpected difficulty of discords', synecdoche, the form by which a thing is expressed by its most conspicuous attribute, the thing itself being often added as a descriptive genitive, e.g. *mitis sapientia Laeli*.

Moles is used in its abstract sense as in *tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem.*

29 *quaestorum*] see Introduction.

31 § **4.** *relatam*] *referre ad senatum* was originally apparently confined to laying a resolution of the *comitia* before the Senate with a view to obtaining the necessary *auctoritas patrum.* Hence the use of the word *refero* in the sense of carrying not literally back, but to its proper destination, completing the process begun by *ferre ad populum.* But afterwards it came to be used in the general sense of laying any matter before the Senate, and that, with or without the intention of procuring a *senatus consultum.* In the last mentioned sense *consulere senatum* was originally the only phrase employed.

p. 54. 1 *pars*] that is, that a definite number of the quaestors *must* be plebeians. The offer of the patricians that quaestors *might* be elected from either order did not satisfy the tribunes, because they foresaw that, as in the case of the military tribunes, patrician influence would practically exclude plebeian candidates.

8 § **6.** *subinde*] 'in quick succession'.

12 § **7.** *nam...prohibebant*] that is, they prevented by *intercessio* the passing of the necessary *senatus consultum* for the purpose.

15 § **8.** *modo prohibentibus*] This is obscure, for after the first appointment of an *interrex* there was no need for the Senate to assemble, each *interrex* nominated (*prodidit*) his successor.

21 § **9.** *exceptam*] 'sheltered', received into security out of danger. Cf. Cic. *de Imp. Cn. Pomp.* IX. 23 *hunc in timore et fuga excepit Tigranes.*

22 *memorabat*] 'reminded', 'warned'.

25 § **10.** *scribendo*] With words of incomplete meaning, such as *triumvir* and the like, the final dative of the gerundive completing the title by adding the office is common; with such a word as *dux*, *ad* with accus. of gerundive would be more usual; for the dative cf. I. 23. 8 *me Albani gerendo bello ducem creavere.*

28 § **11.** *summa*] 'their full legal rights', lit. 'the sum total of their rights'. *mediis* abl. of *media*, substantival use of the neut. pl. 'compromise', 'mutual forebearance', the opp. of *summa* 'their outside rights'; *media* allows as it were a margin of concession.

Chapter XLIV.

p. 55. 15 § **2.** *nobilitate*] abl. of cause.

17 § **3.** *quidnam*] 'what was the meaning of this?'

quid rei est? (without the pronoun) = 'what is going on?' The gen. in both cases is partitive.

§ **4.** *non*] The negative is repeated in *si non* and *ne quidem*, which are a variation on the more usual *non modo...sed ne...quidem*, and strictly speaking a mixture of two forms of expression. *beneficiis...iniuriis...libidine*, wide use of the instrumental abl. including the condition under which the thing had not happened.

18 *denique*] accentuates the last and most important member in the series. *usurpandi* may govern *quod ante non licuerit*, but more likely is used absolutely, *ius* being so easily supplied; 'what does it mean?' they cried, 'not all our services to the people, not all the wrongs the patricians have done them, no, not the pleasure of handselling a privilege, now that they enjoy a right denied to them before, can raise a single plebeian even to the quaestorship, let alone the consular tribunate'.

24 § **5.** *plus artis*] By saying that S. had shown more skill than honesty in managing the *comitia* they mean probably that he had in some way falsified the returns.

25 *queri*] hist. infin.

32 § **7.** *causa*] sc. *patrum*, metaph. from the forensic use, 'ceasing to advocate the patrician claims'.

leviorem] 'the patricians would take less interest in his trial', lit. 'he would be an accused person of less importance in the eyes of the patricians'.

33 *sub*] 'up to the very time'.

p. 56. 3 § **9.** *cessura*] *cedere in aliquid* = 'to pass into anything, be transformed into it', so, 'to be wholly used for some purpose'; cf. VI. 14. 12 *aurum ex hostibus captum in paucorum praedam cessisse.* Compare the use of *abire in* I. 32. 4.

8 § **10.** *ipse*] The nom. thus introduced into the middle of an abl. absol. shows how completely Livy identifies this construction with the Greek aor. part. active, cf. 39. 9.

12 § **11.** *crimine*] halfway in meaning between the original sense of 'accusation' and the later sense of 'crime', 'guiltless of the offence with which she was charged'. *parum abhorrens ab* 'open to'.

14 § **12.** *ampliatam*] 'remanded', the verb is formed from the legal phrase *amplius*, pronounced by the president of the court, when the judges could not arrive at a verdict (*non liquet*), and signifying that a fresh trial would take place. Here used *ad sensum* with the accus. of the person in respect to whom the *ampliatio* took place.

pro] 'expressing the opinion (with the full concurrence) of the pontifical body', the prep. seems to be attracted to the sense of the phrase, and the result is a combination of two expressions *pro* (on behalf of) *collegio*, and *ex sententia collegii*.

15 *coli*] means 'to be dressed', but includes more, what we express by 'personal appearance', 'to cultivate a personal appearance less artistic and more religious'.

CHAPTER XLV.

24 § **1.** *felicitate*] abl. of cause, 'thanks to the good fortune of the R.P.' *felicitas* always implies successfulness consequent on the favourable regard of the gods.

27 *ut*] is not strictly speaking required here. It is repeated probably to emphasize the main part of the slaves' design.

30 § **2.** *divitiae*] Yet it was less than the minimum that qualified for the fifth class in the Servian census.

p. 57. 2 § **3.** *auctoribus*] abl. of circumstance, 'on good authority', lit. 'under the circumstances of not uncertain authors of the statement'.

19 § **7.** *ignobilem*] see Introduction. If this dispute is historical it is an additional argument against the theory that a patrician tribune was required for the charge of the city. *ferre...aspernari* hist. infin. *potiorem* 'urged his superior claims to the command of the war'.

22 § **8.** *maiestas*] more than *patria potestas*, implies the moral as well as the legal authority of the father. The instance shows that the highest official dignity did not exempt a son from obedience to the paternal authority.

23 *extra sortem*] the distribution of spheres of duty between the highest officials being generally by lot, when a duty was assigned to an individual official on special grounds it was said to be *extra sortem*, cf. III. 2. 2.

CHAPTER XLVI.

30 § **1.** *passim*] assists the meaning of *toto*, 'without distinction'.

31 *decem*] no reason is assigned for this partial levy, of which no other instance is mentioned.

iuniores] the men of military age.

p. 58. 5 § **3.** *castigantibus*] used (as 'chastise' in the North of England) of reproof.

6 *comparatum*] 'an arrangement was effected by which' &c.

10 *ad Veios*] cf. 31. 4.

13 § **5.** *cum...traxisset*] explain the local ablative *iniquo loco. quo* (whither)...*traxerat* would have been more usual writing.

15 *per supinam*] 'down a sloping valley', cf. *Tibur supinum* on the slope of a hill.

16 *ruina*] cf. 33. 8. *maiore=magis* 'tumbling more than retreating'.

18 § **6.** *aversam*] i.e. *decumanam.*

20 *de exercitu*] used to avoid another partitive gen.

28 § **10.** *quod...fecit*] in apposition to what follows.

29 *dictus*] = *dictus est.*

p. 59. 3 § **12.** *exercitu*] the simple abl. of circumstance with a word like *profectus* is not common, *cum* with the abl. would be more usual.

Chapter XLVII.

9 § **2.** *statim*] qualifies *primo proelio*, cf. 25. 4, 'the very first battle'.

17 § **4.** *omnes Labicanos*] as well as *magnam partem Aeq.* subject to *Labicos confugisse*, *victos* being participle only and not = *victos esse.*

19 § **5.** *corona*] Cf. 19. 8. A cordon of men was drawn round the town.

21 § **6.** *quam*] *post* is implied in *die octavo.*

28 § **7.** *tribunis*] abl. absol., like *consulibus*, giving the date.

Chapter XLVIII.

p. 60. 12 § **2.** *rogationem*] As Livy understood the proposal, all the *ager publicus*, that is all the land captured in war and not actually distributed in lots to the poorer citizens, but held by the patricians, and possibly some of the wealthier plebeians, as *possessores*, would have been resumed by the State and distributed among the citizens. This would of course have been a most serious loss if not actual ruin to the *possessores*, being a far more sweeping measure than the Licinian law on the subject B.C. 367.

13 *plebiscito*] that is, the proposed *plebiscitum*, which was not carried through.

14 § **3.** *ut*] 'as was to be expected in a city &c.'

16 *venisset*] 'whatever had been from time to time sold', the subjunctive, after a relative or adverb, of a case frequently occurring, so used by Livy and later writers in the pluperfect and sometimes the imperfect tenses, in imitation probably of the similar Greek use of the opt., cf. II. 27. 8 *cum in ius duci debitorem vidissent, undique convolabant.* Cf. 13. 3.

praeterquam] *ferme quicquam* probably must be supplied, from the previous clause. Some patricians must have become possessed of public land when sold, and this agrees with *magnae partis* above.

18 § **4**. *in cogendis*] seems to be a mixture of *privatis consiliis cogendis* and *in consiliis privatis quae cogebantur*.

21 § **6**. *concilio*] apparently means the Senate. The passage is carelessly written, for the meeting at which this advice was given seems to have been a private meeting of patricians, and yet *misso senatu* § 10 implies that it was a regular meeting of the Senate.

22 *proavum*] According to Livy the man who gave this advice was the grandfather of the decemvir, therefore not great-grandfather (*proavus*) to the present speaker, but great-great-grandfather (*abavus*).

25 § **7**. *novos*] *novus homo* was a phrase of the later times of the republic properly applied to a man who, not being a member of the curule nobility, had raised himself to the consulship. Here it seems to be used loosely of men who had raised themselves to any important position by their own exertions, such as tribunes elected to the office for the first time.

26 *temporum*] 'the exigencies of the time', favourite use of the word in Cicero, who applies it to the critical condition of accused persons, e.g. *quid a me cuiusque tempus poscat...examinabo.*

27 § **8**. *pro fortuna*] 'their sentiments varied with their circumstances'.

28 *principes*] 'by taking the lead in the agitation'.

p. 61. 2 § **10**. *negotium datur*] sc. *principibus;* see l. 4.

5 § **11**. *pollicendoque*] 'by arguments, in which warnings were mingled with promises'; *monendo* and *pollicendo* coupled by *que* are an expansion of *suadendo.*

9 § **12**. *exempli*] 'of the worst type'; *exemplum* is used here in its common meaning of 'model' or 'pattern' as in *ut mutum in simulacrum ex animali exemplo veritas transferatur.*

14 § **13**. *privatum*] alluding to the original function of the tribunes to protect individuals from the action of magistrates.

21 § **15**. *dissolvendae esse*] 'was calculated to weaken the fabric &c.'; descriptive gen. of gerundive qualifying *rogationem.* Cf. 30. 10.

Chapter XLIX.

32 § **2**. *principum*] sc. *Veientium.*

p. 62. 1 *maxime*] 'principally by the destruction of farm buildings'.

5 § **4.** *novis*] cf. 47. 6.

6 § **5.** *defensuros*] They had hoped with all the Aequian race at their back to defy the consequences of their offence.

11 § **6.** *nisi*, &c.] If Mommsen's theory about the validity of *plebiscita* at this period (see I. 2) is right, this opposition of the tribune's colleagues was unnecessary.

24 § **8.** *pravae*] 'of perverse temper'; cf. 26. 6.

p. 63. 2 § **11.** *revertit*] In this sense the active (intrans.) is almost always used in the perfect and pluperf., the passive in the present and tenses derived from it, Cic. *Phil.* II. 24. 59 *Victore Thessalia Brundusium cum legionibus revertisti.*

3 *stolida*] 'senseless', 'stupid', implying want of finer sense or sensibility. *prope vecors* 'next door to insane'. *cor* in compds. has its original sense of 'mind'.

7 *malum*] sc. *erit; malum* in sense of 'punishment' was frequently used in reference to slaves, hence the construction put on Postumius' words in § 14.

12 § **12.** *causa*] The cause of the patricians, their side of the question in the agrarian dispute.

15 § **13.** *tum vero*] 'on *this* occasion', returning to the incident of § 11 after the digression in § 12.

19 § **14.** *mittunt*] conative present, 'are trying to send'.

21 *depugnant*] 'fight gallantly'.

§ **15.** *deinde*] 'now set to work to wonder why it is'. *deinde* like εἶτα 'after this', 'this being so'; here with sarcastic force. The sense seems better without the interrogation after *depugnant*, which most editors place there.

22 *quid ut*] Greek form of sentence, ἵνα τί &c., 'that they may look for what?' i.e. 'what have they to expect from you for doing it?'

23 § **16.** *an honores*] 'the offices, perhaps...?' Cf. 42. 6.

25 *rēfert*] the impersonal verb: *quid* is the accus. of extent, the person or thing interested would be in the genitive, unless expressed by means of the possessive adjective. *voce* § 11, ll. 2, 7.

Chapter L.

31 § **1.** *praedaene...minari*] either the indignant infin. (cf. 2. 12) or a question in reported speech.

p. 64. 3 § **2.** *lictore*] under the command of the quaestor as representative of the chief magistrate.

inde] = *ex ea re.*

5 § **3.** *qui vulneraverat*] subject to *increpante.*

6 and 8 § **4.** *ad*] cf. 6. 2.

7 *asperiora*] 'aggravated the general irritation'.

9 *sub crate*] I. 51. 9, the execution of Turnus Herdonius is described *ut novo genere leti deiectus ad caput aquae Ferentinae crate superne iniecta saxisque congestis mergeretur.* As there is no mention of water here, it would seem as if the method of execution contemplated was pressing to death, like the *peine forte et dure,* once the punishment in England for 'standing mute' when charged with felony.

11 § **5.** *submoventes*] 'dispersing the crowd', the regular word used of lictors making people 'move on', cf. Horace, *Odes,* II. 16. 10 for a metaphorical use of the word.

15 § **6.** *decernentibus*] They agitated for commissions of criminal enquiry to be appointed by the Senate, instead of by the *Comitia centuriata,* the supreme judicial body of the State. Cf. Ramsay, 289.

20 § **7.** *pendebat*] 'was intimately connected with'.

21 *metu*] on the part of the soldiers and their relatives, *ira* on the part of the other plebeians.

23 § **8.** *senatus consultum*] about the trial of the murderers.

25 *comitiis*] the election of consuls: the tribunes used the veto to prevent the Senate passing a resolution that consuls should be elected for the ensuing year.

Chapter LI.

p. 65. 1 § **2.** *senatus consultum*] the result probably of a compromise between the tribunes and the Senate.

4 § **3.** *consensu*] 'unanimously'; cf. 27. 9, and see note on text.

5 *per*] is used here much in the same way as with single substantives to form a modal adverb; they finished their work without executing more than a few.

9 § **4.** *actiones*] here, is little more than tribunician proposals. *actio* is the subst. of *ago,* in the sense of *agere cum aliquo,* that is, to make a proposal and support it with arguments, and means a speech made in support of a proposal. When used, as it frequently is, in reference to the tribunes, it generally has a rather wider sense, and corresponds very nearly to the modern use of 'agitations'.

interim] For this adversative, rather than temporal, sense of *interim,* cf. VI. 11. 4, *cum interim, si quis vere aestimare velit, a M. Furio recuperari patria ex obsidione hostium non potuerit, nisi a se prius Capitolium atque arx servata esset.*

11 *tantam*] 'was put in force at once and so effectually (as they had seen)'. *tantam* is elliptical = *tantam quantam habere eam intellexissent.*

§ **5.** *ad tempus*] 'most suited to the circumstances', that is, 'a most suitable course under the circumstances'. See note on text. *fuerat* = *fuisset*, the well-known vivid use of the indicative in a conditional sentence.

12 *delenimentum...obici*] subject to *aptissimum fuerat*, *delenimentum* in apposition to *divisionem*, 'to offer a distribution of the Bolan territory by way of pacifying their anger'.

14 *pellebat*] 'proposed to oust'. For the personification and the force of the tense cf. 6. 7. *tunc* 'as it was'.

15 § **6.** *indignitas*] subjective use of the subst., 'feeling of unworthy treatment', 'sense of injury'. So *officium* 'sense of duty', *verum* 'love of truth', &c.

18 *ut cetera*] sc. *praedae paucis fuissent; cetera* 'everything else', instead of 'all other lands', is the natural exaggeration of angry people.

Chapter LII.

29 § **2.** *pensum*] 'the allotted task'. *nominis*, cf. 2. 7, 54. 4.

31 § **3.** *perniciosior*] instance of the double comparative, expressing the degree of different qualities possessed by the same subject; 'more eloquent than wise' may be expressed either by *magis eloquens quam sapiens* or *eloquentior quam sapientior.*

p. 66. 6 § **4.** *defuncta*] 'having escaped with very few deaths in proportion to the large numbers attacked'; lit. 'having passed through, or finished with, diseases of very many, but very few deaths'.

10 § **5.** *erat*] 'was on the point of being lost', a common use of the vivid conditional indic. followed by *ni* with subj. in historians to express what all but happened and was only just prevented. *circa* 'round to'. Cf. 12. 9, 23. 5.

14 § **6.** *contra ea*] often used by Livy instead of the adv. *contra.*

tyrannis] seems to be a mistake on Livy's part. The Sicilian states had free governments at this time. Dionysius I. did not become tyrant of Syracuse till some years later.

17 § **7.** *in legationes*] finding only one senator for each embassy, cf. 16. 2.

Chapter LIII.

28 *quamquam*] cf. 9. 10.

29 § **2.** *ad*] cf. 6. 2.

p. 67. 2 *sacramento*] Draeger (*H. S.* § 244) calls this an instrumental abl., as also in the phrase *sacramento adigere.* The construction does not occur before Livy; Caesar uses the accus. *sacramentum dicere.* It seems more natural to take *sacramento* here as dative, 'to speak to the oath', that is 'assent to it'; only one man repeated the oath, the rest took it by saying, *idem in me.* Cf. 5. 2.

3 § **3.** *Carventanam*] a Latin town, the position of which is uncertain.

4 § **4.** *invidiae*] 'served the patricians with the means of rousing popular feeling against M.', lit. 'was among the patricians for unpopularity to M.'

6 *intercessoribus*] cf. 13. 11, 'to veto'.

13 § **6.** *facere*] 'he was ready to withdraw opposition, &c.', stronger than the future, cf. 1. 2.

decreto] in the general sense of a 'decision', a resolution of the tribunician body.

15 § **7.** *damnum*] Soldiers not answering to their names when summoned to the levy were liable according to circumstances to fine, confiscation of goods, corporal punishment, imprisonment, and even slavery. The punishment seems to have depended on the will of the general.

18 § **8.** *collum*] 'collared and dragged away', cf. Cic. *pro Cluentio*, § 59 *nec quicquam propius est factum quam ut illum persequeretur et collo obtorto ad subsellia reduceret.*

21 § **9.** *statim*] cf. 25. 4.

22 *qui...erant*] subj. to *deiectis.*

praedatores] cf. 13. 11, 'the fact that some out of the garrison had been carelessly allowed to absent themselves', &c.

23 *dilapsi*] seems to imply that the *neglegentia* was on the part of the commanders.

26 § **10.** *sub hasta*] cf. 29. 4.

27 *tum...cum*] 'not until'.

30 § **11.** *ovans*] cf. 43. 2. *alternis* adv. 'alternately', first abuse of the consul, then praise of Menenius.

inconditi] cf. 20. 2, the license of soldiers at a triumph is well known.

32 § **12.** *cum*] 'while'.

p. 68. 2 § **13.** *et tamquam*] 'and the election of Menenius to a place among the military tribunes, which was considered to be a certainty (of which no doubt was entertained) was barred by the election of consuls'. *honos inter* 'election to office among'. *honos exclusus* is a very strange personification, the promotion is identified with the person promoted.

Chapter LIV.

9 § **2**. *tribunicia*] = *tribunorum consulari potestate.*

10 *dolorem*] has a slightly different sense with the two verbs, 'indignation' and 'grievance'.

12 § **3**. *K.*] = Kaesoni.

15 § **4**. *auctores*] 'It was Icilii, I find, who stimulated the people to vote in this independent spirit. Three members of that house, a house always most hostile to the patricians, who appealed to the fondest desires of the populace by holding out hopes of large and important reforms, had been elected tribunes for this year, and these men had positively declared &c.' The sentence is a most awkward one. *Icilios* is explained by *tres* in apposition to it, and *tres* is qualified by two unconnected participles, the latter *ostentantes* being apparently subordinate to *creatos* and expressing the means by which the election was procured. The object of the construction is probably to isolate *Icilios* and so make it suggest the associations connected with the name, 'Icilii were at work again'. *populo* is dat. after *auctores* and is used in quite a general sense, being in fact almost equivalent to *plebi.* *ad*, cf. VII. 23. 6 *gens ingenii avidissimi ad pugnam.*

18 § **5**. *cum adfirmassent*] explains *auctores fuisse.*

20 *reliquisset senatus*] by ordering election of consuls.

22 *et liceret*] = *et quod* (nom.) *liceret:* from an oblique case of a relative a nominative or accusative may be supplied to a following clause, IX. 1. 9, *quorum saevitiam non mors noxiorum, non deditio exanimatorum corporum, non bona sequentia domini deditionem exsatient, placari nequeant* (= *qui placari nequeant*) *nisi* &c.

§ **6**. *itaque*] this position of this word is peculiar to Livy: other writers place it at the beginning of the sentence only. *pro*, 'it was reckoned a glorious victory'.

23 *fine*] 'they did not estimate the importance of that quaestorship by the mere value of the office itself', lit. 'they did not confine their estimate of the quaestorship within the limits of the mere office'.

25 *novis hominibus*] cf. 48. 7.

§ **7**. *pro*] 'in proportion to', a curious use of *pro*, really equivalent to *tanquam communicassent.*

27 *tollendos*] *liberos tollere* was properly said of a father who raised a new-born child in token that he accepted the responsibility of it, so it came to mean 'to rear'. According to old Roman usage, if a father refused to raise an infant, it was left to die.

28 *salii* &c.] cf. 1. 2. *alio=ad aliam rem.* Cf. 31. 4.

30 *relinquantur*] i.e. by the present patricians at their death.

p. 69. 1 § **8**. *omnia*] sc. *comitia*. *utrumque* i.e. to choose either patricians or plebeians.

Chapter LV.

11 § **1**. *actio*] here simply 'official action'.

12 *mira opportunitate*] 'by a marvellous piece of good luck'.

17 § **3**. *generosique iam*] 'men who might now be considered well-born, so far as plebeians could be'; the force of *iam* seems to be that the antecedents of the Icilian house had earned for its members to a certain extent the distinction of noble birth, cf. XXII. 35. 1 *nobilibus iam familiarum plebei*. *ut*, cf. 13. 1.

18 *consules adservandos*] 'the duty of watching', so *plebs detinenda...concienda*.

21 § **4**. *expediebant*] 'could not bring off'.

31 § **6**. *ratio*] cf. 6. 11.

p. 70. 2 § **7**. *consulatum*] apparently used for the consular tribunate. It was not agitations for opening the consulship, but the election of popular plebeian tribunes to the consular tribunate that the Senate contemplated.

6 § **8**. *diversi auctores*] 'contradictory statements of different authorities'.

8 *Verruginem*] cf. 1. 4.

Chapter LVI.

14 § **1**. *sicut...ita*] cf. 6. 2. *ut* consecutive instead of *quod* with indic.

19 § **3**. *tum quoque*] 'at the time', the annalists were not responsible for the statement. The trick seems to have consisted in putting forward a number of conspicuously unfit plebeian candidates, and so setting the electors against the plebeian candidates generally.

20 *taedio*] 'through disgust caused by the conspicuously low character of certain of the candidates'.

24 § **4**. *cum*] is not really required, as *seu* and *seu* might have introduced the subordinate sentence. The suggestion of motive is Livy's own, of course, not part of the information received.

30 § **6**. *colonias*] cf. 47. 6.

31 *divisa*] if right, is like *cognitum*, *sibi persuasum habere* &c., rather stronger than *divisisse*.

ipsos habere] opposed to *Hernicis donasse*.

p. 71. 1 § **7.** *ad*] cf. 6. 3. *ut ad quosque*, cf. 5. 2.

5 § **8.** *nuntiantur*] historic present after *ubi* (cf. 55. 2), the regular usage after *dum*.

11 § **11.** *consulibus*] cf. 26. 7. *super* in the sense of *de* is used by Livy only when *res* is the word governed.

14 *quibus*] 'in whose eyes or estimation', imitation of Greek dative, e.g. σχεδόν τι μωρῷ μωρίαν ὀφλισκάνω.

denique] cf. 40. 9.

15 § **12.** *promiscui*] sc. *essent.*

19 § **13.** *tribuniciam*] i.e. of the consular tribunes.

agerent] used absolutely, 'manage their affairs', 'work'.

CHAPTER LVII.

24 § **1.** *in manibus*] 'in hand', cf. XXVI. 25. 15 *omittere Philippum id quod in manibus erat coegerunt bellum.*

29 § **3.** *sententiae*] cf. 23. 3.

32 *paterentur*] cf. 2. 9. *malo* however may have the subj. after it without *ut*.

p. 72. 2 § **4.** *receptum*] apparently used in the unusual sense of 'withdrawal'. But it is a question whether Livy with his passion for variety would hesitate to press the objective genitive and use the phrase in the sense of 'retreat from an over self-assertive determination'.

6 § **5.** *auctoritate*] as opposed to *consultum* meant a proposition sanctioned by a majority of the Senate but prevented by *a veto* from being carried into a *senatus-consultum*.

10 § **6.** *opportuniora*] 'fall most in the way of those who are least ambitious of them'. Cf. *opportuniora morbis corpora*, but the word in this sense is generally rather passive, 'liable to &c.', than active, as it is here; the *quam* clause is understood.

14 § **7.** *Fucinum*] in the country of the *Marsi*.

17 § **8.** *tantum non*] 'to have only just escaped missing'. *non* here must be taken closely with *defuisse*.

22 § **9.** *dictatoris*] this use of the genitive after *ira*, common to Livy and Vergil, cf. *Aen.* II. 313 *ereptae virginis ira*, may be either an extension of the objective genitive, or a descriptive genitive, as in I. 4, *iniuriam agri abiudicati*.

23 § **10.** *patribus*] Livy generally uses the accusative after *incedo*, cf. 50. 7.

28 § **11.** *ne*] is of course final, *obtinuere* meaning not 'obtained' but 'secured beforehand'.

31 § **12.** *continuato...partum*] explanatory of *refectus*.

CHAPTER LVIII.

p. 73. 5 § **1.** *exierat*] cf. 35. 1, 49. 2, the armistice had lasted only 18 years. *fetiales*, cf. 30. 13.

10 § **2.** *sua*] because the Romans are the virtual subject of the sentence.

12 § **3.** *momenti*] 'so much depended on a few hours', lit. 'there was so much movement of the balance in time'.

14 *ad id...ut*] 'only in time to catch &c.'

17 § **4.** *restari*] used occasionally by Livy instead of *resisto.*

28 § **7.** *Lars*] cf. 17. 2.

30 § **8.** *primo quoque*] has two meanings, (1) one after the other, as *decimus quisque* = every tenth, (2) the very first, as here.

p. 74. 2 § **9.** *praesidia*] the garrisons of Carventum (55. 4) and Verrugo.

4 § **10.** *paeniteat*] 'as though they were not content with the amount of work they had'.

6 § **11.** *sua sponte*] seems to refer rather to a virtual subject *iuvenes* than to the things agitated, as though he had written *haec cum iuvenes sua sponte agitarent.*

9 § **12.** *procul*] used by Cicero only as an adverb, is used by Livy, following poetic usage, as preposition as well.

10 *per otium*] cf. 51. 3. *memor*, cf. 9. 5.

11 *libere*] cf. 54. 4.

14 § **13.** *super*] sc. *esset.*

18 § **14.** *si subiecta*] 'if it could be made thoroughly unpopular'.

antiquari] 'rejected', the verb formed to express the action of saying '*antiqua volo*', the formula by which a voter voted against a proposal, the opposite of '*uti rogas*'. The present instead of future expresses the supposed certainty of rejection, if the condition were fulfilled, cf. 1. 2.

CHAPTER LIX.

27 § **3.** *distinerent*] to divide the forces of the Volsci and prevent their concentrating for the defence of Anxur, cf. § 9.

29 § **4**. *prona*] 'sloping down to the marshes'. Anxur or Tarracina was built on a white cliff at the edge of the Pomptine marshes, Hor. *Sat.* I. 5. 26; the city seems to have extended down to the edge of the marsh. The *collis* taken in § 5 must apparently have been the citadel of Anxur itself, unless Livy planted it in the immediate neighbourhood for the purpose of his narrative.

p. 75. 2 § **6**. *ad*] cf. 6. 2.

6 § **7**. *itaque*] cf. 54. 6.

8 *ne*] depends on the command implied in *pronuntiatum*.

9 *voluntariam*] adverbial use of the adjective.

exuit] for the personification cf. 6. 7.

15 § **10**. *primum*] corresponds to *additum* in § 11.

18 § **11**. *ut...senatus*] subject to *additum* (*est*).

ante mentionem] in spite of the facts stated 36. 2, cf. 60. 2 *non umquam agitatum*. *plebis tribunorumve* subjective genitive, 'mention *by* the plebs'.

20 *de suo*] 'at his own expense'.

Chapter LX.

26 § **1**. *acceptum*] sc. *esse*.

28 *fatentibus*] abl. absol. 'all acknowledging'.

29 *quicquam*] cf. 39. 5.

30 § **2**. *commoditas*] explained by the accus. and infin. *rem...acquiescere* depending on it.

32 *addictum*] properly the word used of an insolvent debtor made over to his creditor, here used in a general sense like our 'devoted' but possibly with an invidious suggestion of bondage, 'when they were impressed and actively employed in the public service'.

p. 76. 1 *ultro*] cf. 28. 4.

3 *id*] in apposition to *quod...efflagitatum*.

6 § **3**. *nec*] corresponds to *nec* in *negare=dicere nec*.

7 *appariturum*] sc. *esse*.

9 § **4**. *largitos*] sc. *esse patres*.

11 *militare*] in apposition to *id*, the payment of the tax put from the point of view of discharged veterans.

12 *eosdem*] agrees with *se* understood and emphasizes the fact of their double loss, 'that they should be out of pocket for the expenses of their own campaigns and contribute to the expenses of other men's as well'.

17 § **6.** *signatum*] according to Pliny *N. H.* XXXIII. 42 the Romans did not use coined money till after the war with Pyrrhus. After the introduction of coined money the old weight-money was called *aes grave*, a term also applied to the full pound *as* of former times as opposed to the diminished *as* of later, cf. 41. 10.

22 § **8.** *militari aetate*]=the men of military age, abstract for concrete.

Chapter LXI.

p. 77. 3 § **2.** *cum*] concessive, a largely attended meeting of the Etruscans was held immediately after the commencement of the siege of Veii, but it was not agreed whether &c.

21 § **7.** *mortales*] the use of the word for *homines* is very common in Sallust, in Livy confined pretty much to speeches and descriptions of battles.

p. 78. 3 § **11.** *reges*] the circumstance is not mentioned by Livy in his history of the Kings.

NOTES ON THE TEXT.

M = Cod. Mediceus.
P = Cod. Parisiensis.
V = Cod. Veronensis, edited by Th. Mommsen in 1868.
Mg = Madvig and Ussing's text, 3rd Edition, 1886.
Weissb. = Weissenborn's Livy, 5th Edition, revised by H. J. Müller, 1882.
Mg. Emend. = Madvig's Emendationes Livianae, 2nd Edition, 1877.

For a full but concise account of the MSS of this portion of Livy see Prof. Seeley's edition of Book I., pp. 6—9.

C. **1** § 1. *Curtius*] *Curatius* MSS. Diodorus has *Curtius* Dionysius *Quintius*.

2 § 3. I have omitted *et* before *singulis*, though it is found in all MSS. There is no instance in Livy of *que* corresponding to preceding *et*. In II. 4. 5 *et* is rejected by best editors, and, even if retained, is not in point here. It is not credible that *et* here can = *etiam* or *quoque* and qualify *honori* in reference to *praemium*.

§ 4. *et quemadmodum...posset*] The MSS with one doubtful exception have *ut q. posset*. Probably the true reading is without *ut* or *et*, as Mg Emend. 107, where he shows that *ut* often grows out of repetition of preceding *nt*. *se*, omitted by best MSS, is required.

§ 14. *nisi*] Luterb. MSS have *si*. "Non solum languida haec (reading with *si*) sunt sed etiam perversa. Hostium enim spem incitabat Canuleii vox tantum non ducem se profitentis, nec ea spes in eo vertebatur de quo hostes nihil audituri erant utrum tribuni animos patribus eripuissent necne" Mg (who reads *ni*) Emend. 108.

4 § 1. *at enim*] Luterb. and Weissb. following P add *vero*, which Mg with other MSS rejects. There is no instance of *at enimvero* in *occupatio*. V. 9. 3 is not in point.

§ 9. *fertis*] Mg's emendation of MSS *confertis* "ut aliquoties ex 'non con' natum est 'con' altera syllaba extrita, sic interdum ex 'non'

aut 'con' geminatione natum est 'non con'." Cic. *Tusc.* v. 33. 94 *non contemnunt* should be *contemnunt.* Emend. 109.

7 § 11. *suffectos* &c.] Mg's emendation of MSS *suffectis iis consulibus praetermissa nomina consulum horum. Licinius Macer* &c., adopted by Luterb. Weissb. retains MSS, with change of *suffectis* to *suffectorum* and bracketing *consulum horum.* The origin of the MSS reading according to Mg is: *Coss.* in original = *consules* was taken to = *consulibus*, *suffectos* adapted to *iis*, and *praetermissos* to *nomina.*

si] omitted after *perinde ac* on authority of V.

8 § 2. *senatus equitumque centuriis*] Luterb. has *centuriae* found in two inferior MSS. This in connection with the other phrases gives a strange combination, 'ordines et homines cum actione compositos' (Mg) and the Senate itself could not be said to be *sub dicione eius magistratus.* Most MSS have *centuriis.* Mg reads *in senatu...centuriis.* Mommsen (Codex Veronensis, p. 193) defends *senatus* as gen. after *decoris dedecorisve*, and accounts for the change to the abl. in *centuriis* because Livy could not say that the censorial functions affected the *equites* generally, but only the *equites* in centuries, and substituted *centuriis* for *centuriarum* (found by the way in one or two MSS) to avoid the accumulation of genitives. But Mg's reading is probably right.

§ 4. *ab senatu*] Luterb., *ad senatum* Weissb.; *apud senatum* Mg, probably right, cf. *et patres laeti accepere.* P has *ab senatum.*

§ 6. *necessarii*] emendation of Mg for MSS *necessariam.*

§ 7. *dubitatur*] *dubitabatur* MSS.

11 § 7. *coloni adscripti*] These words are not found in V.

12 § 7. *resisti*] Luterb. and Weissb. I have bracketed *re* following Mg, whose suggestion in Emend. 115 *hominumque sisti* probably gives the true reading. *resisti* without dat. is awkward and the phrase *sisti non potest* seems just in place here.

13 § 9. *defert*] an emendation of Mg (1860) for MSS *refert*, generally accepted, and subsequently confirmed by V.

contiones] *coitiones* Mg after conj. of Gronovius.

§ 10. *quae postquam...increparent*] Mg and Weissb. Luterb. omits *cum* and reads *increpare.* The former seems preferable as nearer to MSS.

16 § 2. *bove aurato*] Mg inserts *et statua* in consequence app. of the passage in Pliny quoted in the notes. He thinks that Livy must have meant to say that M. was presented with a live ox and the statue.

17 § 2. *Nautium*] Luterb. after Mommsen in Codex Veronensis p. 195. MSS followed by other editors give *Sp. Antium.* No other

Antius is mentioned in Livy but several *Nautii*, and *Spurius* is 'praenomen proprium' of the *Nautii*. Pliny *N. H.* mentions *Sp. Nautius* among the ambassadors killed by the Fidenates. Cicero on the other hand calls him *Antius*, which may account for the alteration of the name here.

20 § 7. *aut*] Mg with P; *ac* Luterb. and Weissb. with M.

§ 8. *quis...error*] Gronovius' emendation, involving omission of one letter only, adopted by Mg Emend. p. 115. MSS have *qui si*. *qui* has nothing to refer to, as no error has been mentioned, which could only be suspected from the fact that the annals do not mention Cossus as consul till 7 years later. Whatever the error was, it could not be said to consist in the fact that the annals &c. Moreover *si* introducing dept. qn. after *existimatio* is not Latin.

quosque] F. Lachman. *libri librique quos* Mommsen and Weissb. Livy (see 7. 10—12) could hardly identify the *libri magistratuum* and the *libri lintei*, though the latter were prob. shrouded in mystery to every one except Licinius Macer. Luterb. defends *quos* and Mg retains it in his text.

decimo] Luterb. *septimo* MSS, prob. a slip of Livy's. "Livius decimo scribere debuit", Mg in footnote to 3rd edition.

Poeno] Luterb. and Weissb. after Mommsen. *Penno* Mg.

§ 11. *sed vana versare*] Mg adopts G. Wagner's conjecture *sed, ut ego arbitror, vana; aversari enim* (*enim* added by Mg to account for *e* of *versare* and *in*), an exceeding probable emendation which ought perhaps to have been printed in the text.

21 § 6. *morbus*] Luterb. *metum* MSS which Mg (Emend. 116) after Faber rejects as 'manifestum additamentum; nam pestilens annus non metum efficit vastitatis sed vastitatem'.

exiret] Ussing's conjecture (1861) that *non* which appears in the MSS before *exiret* should be omitted is confirmed by V. 'Ussing rightly asserts that *non modo quisquam...non* cannot be used for *non modo nemo* and that *quisquam* and *ullus* are not used in Latin prose with a negative following.'

§ 7. *primo*] *aut oppido*, here inserted in other MSS, was suspected by Duker and rejected by Mg, an emendation confirmed by V.

23 § 3. *cooperta*] Mommsen's conjecture for the *conperta* and *inconperta* of the MSS.

24 § 2. *communicari non sirint*] Mg and Weissb. 'praeclara Jac. Gronovii emendatio'. Luterb. retains MSS *communicati non sint*, a deponent otherwise unknown.

§ 5. *magnam partem*] Mg Emend. 117. The expression can only be used of time, and therefore here is in appn. to *annos*.

§ 7. *magistratu*] Other MSS insert *modo aliorum magistratui*, which V omits, confirming again a conjecture of Mg.

25 § 1. *contentionibus*] V. *contionibus* other MSS.

§ 4. *quoque...implicitis*] found in V, omitted in other MSS.

§ 7. *consilia ad*] *consilia de movendo* Mg who explains origin of *consilia ad* thus: The *d* of *de* being separated from *e*, *consiliad e* became *consilia ad* and *movendo* was adapted to *ad*.

26 § 12. *dilectus*] inserted from V, other MSS omit it.

27 § 10. *hostium*] MSS. Luterb. changes to *Aequorum* but without sufficient reason.

32 § 2. *totiens*] Luterb. *sexiens* MSS.

34 § 4. *ac centurione*] Mg and Weissb. *ac centurionibus* Luterb., who objects to collective singular of *centurio*, quoting XL. 43. 7. V has *centurionis*, other MSS *ad centurionem* 'from cavalry soldier down to centurion', an absurd expression which also would have to qualify *captivis*. The reading prob. originated in omission of one *c*, *acenturione* became *ad centurionem* Mg Emend. 119.

35 § 6. *revocandam*] *revocandi* Mg, who calls *revocandam* absurd and accounts for it by faulty adaptation of copyist to preceding subst. of which he gives other examples.

§ 8. *tetenderit*] Mg for MSS *tenderet*, which he shows, Emend. 121, is not Latin.

37 § 9. *incerto clamore*] MSS. Luterb. following Gruter omits the words. Mg reads *incerto clangore*.

38 § 3. *parmata*] Schele for MSS *armata*, an emendation generally accepted.

41 § 3. *magnis ingeniis*] Mg Emend. 122 alters to *magni ingenii*, "which even to criticise (the mere criticism of which) requires a great intellect".

§ 7. *dimittunt*] Luterb. following Harant. MSS have *dimissum* which Mg and Weissb. retain. *dimissum* will depend on *dicitur* (impers.) supplied from § 1.

42 § 1. *Ti. Spurilium*] Luterb. after Mommsen. *Sp. Icilium* Mg.

§ 4. *iactarentur*] Luterb. for MSS *iactentur*.

43 § 4. *duo ut*] *duo ut crearentur qui* Luterb. *duo qui* MSS.

§ 5. *ius adaequassent ita*] *iussissent adaequari* Mg. MSS have *usi sunt adaeque*.

48 § 2. *ei*] (nom. pl.) Mg's emendation for MSS *et*.

49 § 11. *dignum*] emendation of Faber, adopted by Mg Emend. 125, for MSS *dignos.*

51 § 3. *populi*] I have bracketed the word, following Mg Emend. 126. Without assenting to Niebuhr's theory about the word *populus*, Mg maintains that the plebs in their *comitia* could not be said to act *consensu* of the *populus* consisting of patricians and plebeians. He also questions the Latinity of *consensu alicuius facere.*

§ 5. *ad tempus*] Mg inserts *ad* here, on the ground that Latin usage does not allow of *tempus* in the phrase *tempus est aliquid fieri* being qualified by an adj. Luterb. retains MSS reading.

56 § 6. *divisa*] MSS; V however has *divis*... On the strength of this Mommsen and Mg adopt Gronovius' conjecture *divisui; divisui esse* occurs a few times in Livy.

§ 13. *vi atque verecundia*] Luterb. adopting Mommsen's conjecture. V has *via...verecundia*, other MSS *verecundia* only.

58 § 1. *obvia*] The best MSS have *obviam.* "*obviam sum* in prosa oratione bona aetate nemo dixisse reperitur", Mg Emend. 131 n.

§ 4. *restari nuntiabatur*] *restari nuntiabantur* V. *restare nuntiabantur* other MSS. The text is Mommsen's correction of V.

§ 9. *arces*] Luterb. *alia* Mg. MSS have *et.* The only interpretation of MSS reading requires that *praesidia* should mean 'men' in the first clause and 'fortresses' in the second. 'Nugas!' Mg. Some word must be inserted.

59 § 7. *armatos*] Mg and Luterb. Weissb. retains *armatus* with MSS, *praeter* adverb. But the use is rare and the singular is out of place.

60 § 3. *patribus*] I have bracketed this following Mg. The tribunes did not care what was likely to please the patricians. They were or pretended to be anxious for the plebs who, with the reading *patribus*, are left out of sight. Luterb. contends that without *patribus ipsi* is meaningless.

ADDENDUM.

C. **7** § 3 l. 20. *perinde ac*] As commentators are silent about these words, I suppose there is no difficulty in them. But I can neither believe that Livy would use *perinde ac* to mean simply, 'on the ground that', nor understand why he should say, 'just as if there had been a flaw in their election', when he clearly means that there had been one. Did the words creep in from an authority who gave a different account of this affair?

APPENDIX.

(2. 9 abl. gerund, 2. 9 *quam* (*ut*) with subj. for acc. and infinitive, 9. 1 adverbial adjective, 10. 4 attributive adverb, 13. 11 participial substantive, 26. 10 *forem*, 30. 2 *super=praeter*, 31. 9 *ab* causal, 41. 3 *quoque*.)

c. 2 § 9 l. 17.

Livy's use of the ablative gerund seems to differ from that of the classical prose writers in the following points: (1) he uses it much more frequently in a modal sense (theirs is generally instrumental) as an equivalent of the present participle, (2) he uses it where they would use a conjunctional clause, e.g. l. 15 *concedendo=si concederent*, (3) he more frequently places an object after it, (4) he more frequently has a pronoun (*ipse* or *quisque*) or numeral as subject to it in the nominative case, e.g. 31. 2 *tendendo ad sua quisque consilia*.

Ibid. l. 18.

quam or *quam ut* (l. 13) with subj. in *oratio obliqua* instead of the normal acc. and infin. is found in Plautus and frequently in Livy. Cicero and Caesar prefer the normal construction. Where Livy assimilates in construction or idiom to Plautus and differs from the classical prose writers it is commonly ascribed to archaism. It is, I think, a question whether it is not more reasonable to suppose that the usage in both Plautus and Livy is a colloquial one, common to both periods.

c. 9 § 1 l. 24.

The predicative or adverbial use of the adj. is found in ante-classical and classical writers, but with the latter is confined practically (except in the case of verbs really equal to *sum*) to a few words (mainly, *frequens*, *invitus*, *multus*, *nullus*, *praeceps*, *primus*, *princeps*, *postremus*, *solus*). Livy is freer and more frequent in his employment of this usage

and (as far as I make out) peculiar as compared with the classical prose-writers in using the adverbial adj. with participles. Mons. Riemann (*Études sur la langue et la grammaire de Tite-Live*) draws a distinction between the cases in which the adj. expresses a mode of the subject of the action, e.g. *maestam sedentem*, and when it expresses a mode of the action, e.g. *serus redeas*.

c. 10 § 4 l. 16 and c. 25 § 4 l. 12.

This usage is by no means peculiar to Livy. The ante-classical and classical writers also tried to assert for Latin the elasticity in this respect which Greek gains by its use of the article: e.g. Plaut. *Pers.* III. i. 57 *non tu nunc-hominum mores vides?* Ter. *And.* I. ii. 4 *heri semper-lenitas verebar quorsum evaderet.* Cic. *Pis.* 9. 21 *discessu-tum-meo omnes illi gladii de manibus exciderunt. Ep. ad Attic.* V. 14. 1 *neque longas a me neque semper mea-manu-literas exspectabis. Orat.* I. 4 *in poetis non Homero soli locus est aut Archilocho aut Sophocli aut Pindaro sed horum vel secundis vel infra secundos.* The difference between the classical and the Livian usage seems to consist in this, that Livy employs it more frequently and perhaps with less regard to the position of the adv. or adv. phrase, that is, he is less careful to place it, as far as the Latin language allows, in the position nearest to that which it occupies in Greek between the article and the subst.

c. 13 § 11 l. 28.

Mons. Riemann is perhaps justified in saying that there is no appreciable difference between Cicero's usage and Livy's in this respect. But for all that, it seems to me, there *is* a difference. Livy, I should say, is freer in his use of words other than those in *tor* and *trix*, and also much freer in the purely verbal or participial use of the attributive subst., using it with adverb qualifications, and to express a single action. Cicero for example might, I fancy, write *plebs transfuga*, as he speaks of *advenas deos*, but hardly *transfuga ex suis populis plebs*. He calls himself *coniurationis investigator atque ultor*, but he would hardly have said (as Livy II. 12. 5) *intrare castra hostium volo, non praedo nec populationum invicem ultor*. In this case he would surely have used a verb. Again Cicero might have said *di ultores erant patrum superbiae*, but hardly (as Livy II. 24. 1) (*plebes dicit*) *ultores superbiae adesse deos*, *ultores* with *adesse* expressing so distinctly a single action.

c. 26 § 10 l. 25.

Mons. Riemann sums up the results of his investigation into the use of *forem* by different writers thus: Caesar does not appear to use it at all. Plautus, Terence and Sallust use it in propositions expressing a supposition not realised, or in propositions relating to the future, that is, as equivalent in indirect speech to *ero* in direct, and in final sentences. Other uses in these authors are exceptional. Cornelius Nepos and Livy use it wherever *essem* could be used.

c. 30 § 2 l. 30.

super with acc. is first used by Sallust in the sense of 'beyond,' *Iug.* 19, *super* (to the south of) *Numidiam Gaetulos accepimus...agitare*, a sense in which it is commonly used by post-classical prose-writers and poets, e.g. *super modum*, *super ceteros*, *super omnia.* Livy, followed by Tacitus and Suetonius, uses it in the simple sense of 'besides' or 'in addition to'.

c. 31 § 9 l. 27.

Draeger distinguishes two phases of this causal use according as *ab* denotes (1) the external working-out of a cause (objective use), e.g. Livy I. 1 *ab simili clade domo profugum*, Cic. *N. D.* 55 *ea* (*anima*) *calescit primum ab eo spiritu;* (2) the external or internal ground of an action or feeling (subjective use), as here. (1) appears twice in Cicero, with intransitive verbs, and not often in Livy, (2) not in Cicero, but frequently in Livy.

c. 41 § 3 l. 9 and c. 56 § 3 l. 19.

Livy seems to disregard the normal distinction between *quoque* and *etiam*, according to which the former merely denotes the addition of something similar, while the latter introduces a new circumstance.

It seems to be a mistake to suppose that Livy ever uses *quoque* before the word it qualifies (as Quintus Curtius does), therefore in c. 41 either Mg's emendation must be adopted, or *quoque* explained as it is in the note.

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